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A Message from the President

Again it is my pleasure to introduce another issue of our highly-regarded scholarly annual, *Slovakia*.

We welcome Dr. Thomas D. Marzik, Associate Professor of History at St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, as our associate editor. He is an established scholar who has done extensive research in Slovakia, and I am confident that he will ably assist our editor, Dr. M. Mark Stolarik, in editing our scholarly journal.

After an enthusiastic response, with many positive reviews, of our last "literary" issue of *Slovakia*, edited by Mrs. Norma Rudinsky, we are returning to our regular format.

Our Slovak-American youth is particularly urged to take advantage of the opportunities presented by Dr. Stolarik and his editorial board to become better acquainted with our rich Slovak heritage. We are members of an ancient ethnic group which, in God's good time, will achieve its rightful place in the family of nations.

Among the Slovak League's purposes in publishing *Slovakia*, and issuing other documents such as resolutions and memoranda, is to have the non-Slovak world learn about the people beneath the Tatra mountains (and their diaspora), their culture, history and traditions. Many of the scholars who contribute to *Slovakia* play an active role in conferences of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, held annually in American cities. These gatherings provide our youth with another opportunity to learn about Slovak history and culture.

While we all recognize that the Slovak nation rightfully aspires, with our support, to achieve self-determination in a political system of its own choosing, we also recognize that this will not come about until the hold of the Soviet Union upon our people in Czecho-Slovakia weakens. Meanwhile, one of the best ways for us to keep the Slovak cause alive and

in the eyes of the general public is to support such important publications as *Slovakia*. By encouraging, and publishing, serious works of scholarship on the Slovak people, we will continue to win the respect of scholars, journalists and politicians and pave the way for future considerations of Slovak self-determination in the world forum. In this way we will remain true to the mandate established by our ancestors who founded the Slovak League of America in Cleveland, Ohio in 1907. They helped liberate our nation from Hungarian oppression in 1918 and, with God's help, we will make a similar contribution in the future.

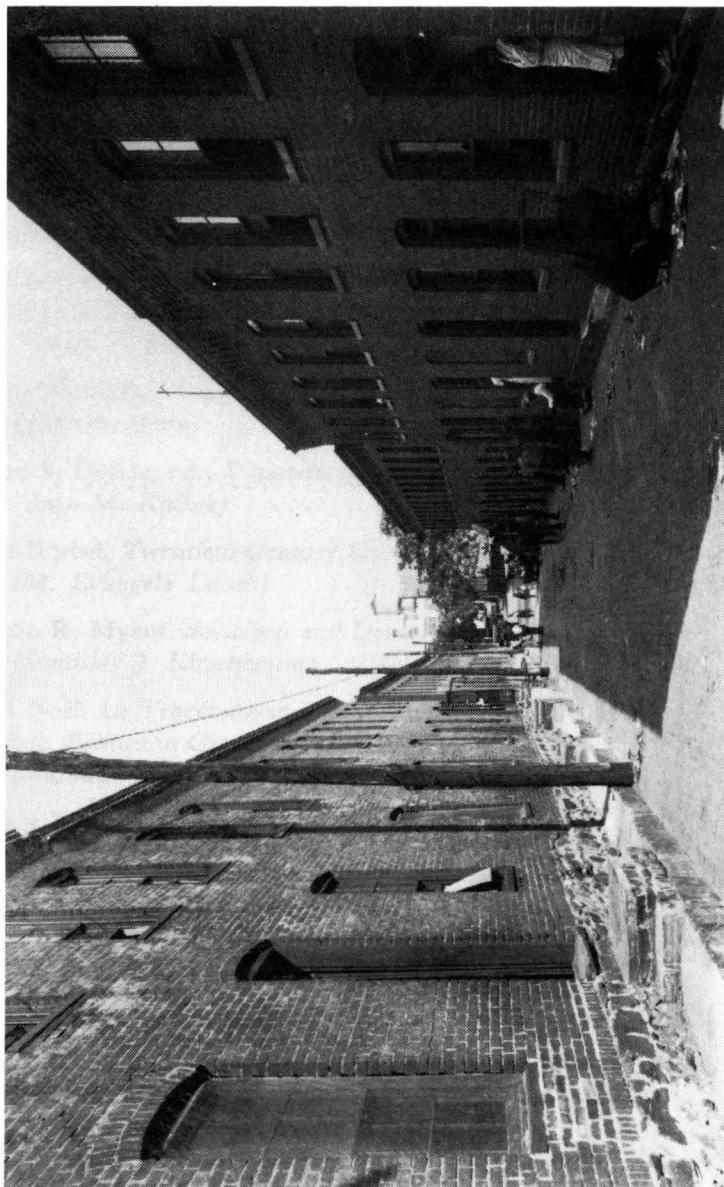
EDWARD J. BEHUNCIK, President
Slovak League of America

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“Logan Place.” September 26, 1935. Alley Dwelling Authority. National Capital Housing Authority Collection. Library, Department of Housing and Community Development. Washington, D.C.

Migrant Responses To The City: The Neighborhood, Case Studies in Black and White, 1870-1940*

James Borchert
and
Susan Danziger-Borchert

They tend to reproduce spontaneously the home community and to live in it. Letters show that they frequently reply to inquiries from home for a description of America, "I have yet been able to see America."
W.I. Thomas, "The Immigrant Community"

Students of migration to American cities have, over the years, produced a large library of studies. The greatest outpouring of work has concentrated on the migration of southern and eastern European immigrants during the years from 1880 to 1920, and the "great migration" of blacks from the rural South. This profusion of work has not produced any final conclusions on the migrant experience, although there are a number of schools of thought about what happened to migrants.

The first group of scholars who considered European migrants of this period concluded that despite efforts to re-establish their rural ways of life, the city proved too poor a soil for such institutions to take root.¹ Thus extended family, kinship network, neighborhood, and community

* A version of this paper was presented at the Ninety-Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association held in Washington, D.C. in December 1982. The authors are indebted to the American Historical Association for an Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund Grant and the Smithsonian Institution for a fellowship, which provided essential funding in connection with the preparation of the original presentation.

withered; a period of disorder and confusion followed until migrants discovered the “urban way of life.”² According to the theory, this discovery, synonymous with the beginnings of assimilation and acculturation, provided migrants with the forms of order and organization that would make success in America (and cities) possible and probable. After an appropriate period of apprenticeship in the “zone in transition” and the “zone of workingmen’s homes,” the urbanized migrant began to move to middle-class status and suburban homes.³

More recent scholars, analyzing aggregate census data (for indices of dissimilarity) and city directories (for spatial and occupational mobility), have questioned the notion that European migrants spent much time in the zone in transition. Based on this data, they contend that individual migrants from different immigrant groups lived widely scattered across working-class residential areas. Few concentrations were great enough to permit the development of urban villages or ghettos. Where they existed, migrants passed through so quickly that their importance as an institution was minimized for most.⁴

In contrast, until recently, most observers of black migrants in the city concluded that folk breakdown was extensive. Moreover, while new black residents seemed to move as frequently as white migrants, they did so within an increasingly restrictive ghetto area.⁵ Thus, where a disorganized ghetto confronted black migrants, white migrants experienced greater spatial and (implicitly) more occupational mobility. White migrants melted together into a working class divided by religion (Protestant, Catholic, and Jew),⁶ while blacks confronted a nearly caste-like experience.⁷

The most recent work by students of European and black migrants of the 1880 to 1930 period has begun to challenge some of these findings. Students of urban black communities have focused on the extensive presence of formal organizations to demonstrate the extent of order in black life.⁸ Similarly, studies of European immigrant groups have demonstrated the persistence of ethnic life in the city through the institutions of church, benevolent groups, lodges, political activity, and an active press.⁹ Moreover, both sets of studies presume the presence of a recognizable geographical base upon which these formal organizations operate. In the case of black communities, the ghetto explicitly forms the boundaries; for white immigrants, the parish or “immigrant neighborhood” implicitly serves as the turf around which the story of organiza-

tional life unfolds. Unfortunately, in either case, the empirical demonstration of this critical base and its role is often assumed as given. Few have sought to consider the role of neighborhood and community development as a crucial framework for their analyses.¹⁰

Because this literature provides little basis for analysis or comparison, it is necessary to turn to the work of sociologists for a framework.¹¹ While there is little work on scale and its impact on the nature of neighborhood,¹² more has been done on neighborhood typologies. Gerald Suttles suggests three: the defended neighborhood, the community of limited liability, and the contrived community. The first is most pertinent to the discussion here: “a residential group which seals itself off through the efforts of delinquent gangs, . . . by sharp boundaries, or by forbidding reputation.”¹³ The elements of the defended community are: “a recognizable identity, a consensus among residents of a common fate, and a ‘positive’ and sentimental attachment to neighbors, local establishments, and local traditions to the exclusion of other persons, establishments, and traditions.”¹⁴

Another set of issues that the current literature ignores concerns the distinction between primary or informal groups (family, neighborhood, community) and formal organization. Historians’ concentration on formal group life represents a great limitation on their work, since these groups represent only one level of response migrants made to the city.¹⁵ In part, these formal groups reflect most fully the experiences of the most successful: those who are largely “a-typical” of the larger group’s experience.¹⁶ More importantly, informal groups played a critical role in the life of the folk migrants prior to their move to the city.¹⁷ Their presence and roles in the city represent important elements to test to determine the nature and extent of changes that resulted from migration, urbanization, industrialization, and modernization. Since earlier observers pointed to these informal groups as the institutions that underwent the most complete and severe change, with formal groups replacing them, it seems central to the discussion of the persistency of ethnic group life that primary group life be given careful analysis. This is especially so since it is the family, neighborhood, and community that are so central for the socialization and identity of the young.¹⁸

There are other reasons for considering the issue of informal group life. Recent studies of both European and black migrant areas have reported population turnover that was thought to undermine the develop-

ment and impact of ethnic enclaves; proximity to many other groups diminished European ethnicity to one of the three major religions. While recent studies demonstrate the importance of chain-migration for both black and white migrants, little effort has been made to determine what effect this chain migration had on the formation of groups in the city.¹⁹ In contrast, the presence (or absence) of a neighborhood in proximity to formal institutions of an ethnic group represents theoretically a very different experience than that postulated by studies of movement and mobility. Rather than seemingly random movement, it would be possible to hypothesize the informal neighborhood providing important sets of support for the church (parish), businesses, beneficial organizations, press, and national organizations. While it may be difficult to determine which came first, it seems likely that informal neighborhood lies at the base of the ethnic urban village. Moreover, despite the mobility, the presence of an ethnic village that provides important goods and services for "members," whatever the place of residence, plays an important role in the "maintenance" of ethnicity and identity.²⁰ Thus, while it may have served every member of a given ethnic group in its particular part of the city, the neighborhood/urban village fostered important networks of institutions for migrants; dominance of a section of the city permitted residents a chance to be "themselves" within the confines of a turf dominated by persons from the same kin network, town, region, and country. In these neighborhoods, residents hammered out their own identities, consciousness, and relations with the larger world. Without this envelope, it is hard to imagine how so many informal and formal groups could have persisted and prospered.²¹

It is the purpose of this article to examine the development of residential neighborhoods and communities by two different groups of migrants in different environments. While these are far from "random" selections,²² we do feel that they represent two different kinds of migrant settlements, one very small, the other fairly large. Both neighborhoods conform roughly to Suttles' definition of a defended neighborhood; both represent an important migrant response to the urban environment, a response that has been passed over all too briefly by past work.

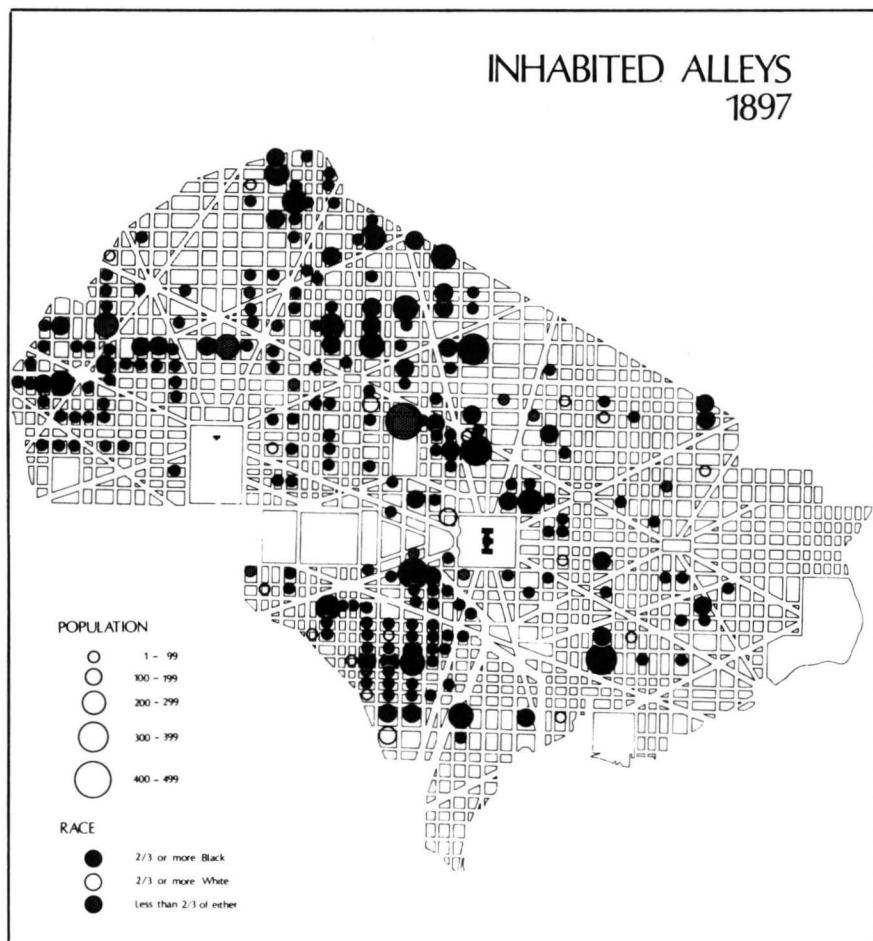
The article focuses on the efforts of two different groups of folk migrants to establish a "turf" in the city: Black migrants settled in the inhabited alleys of Washington, D.C., and the eastern European migrants settled in the "Bird's Nest" on the fringe of Cleveland, Ohio.

In many ways the social conditions migrants faced in these two environments were dramatically different; each came with a different set of experiences and cultural baggage, and each faced very different conditions in the cities they settled despite the fact that both entered the urban marketplace at the “bottom.”²³ While these differences are critical to understand what happened to each group, it is also important to see in general terms what migrants shared in their struggle with the urban-industrial environment. The article begins with a consideration of similarities and differences between the two communities in terms of physical form, population, occupations, and living conditions. The major part of the article focuses on the development and form each neighborhood took. The conclusions seek to compare these two experiences and suggest their implications for other migrant experiences and for the study of migrants.

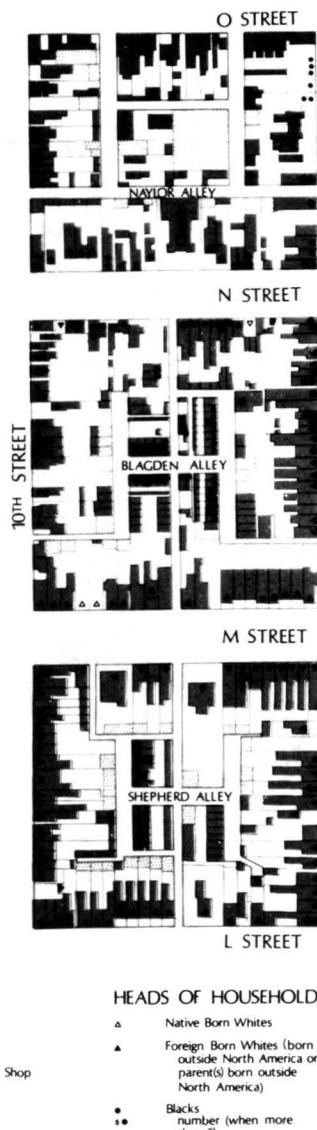
II. Descriptive Comparison of Neighborhoods: Alley Communities and The Bird’s Nest

Physical Form and Isolation. Alley communities of Washington, like their counterparts throughout the urban United States and Europe, were small, relatively circumscribed, and isolated neighborhoods spread throughout the central city²⁴ (see Map 1). In Washington, alley house construction fell largely in the period from the end of the Civil War until 1892, when Congress banned new construction. Developed on narrow streets or alleys inside a large city block, the tiny, two-story frame or brick rowhouses faced inward onto the interior alley, while larger, more expensive row houses lined the outside of the block and faced onto the street (Map 2). Well-to-do residents of the street-front property were separated from their poor and often black, backyard neighbors physically, socially, and culturally. Developers and owners of alley property, often well to do, generally lived outside the immediate section of the city where their alley property was located, thus further isolating the alley neighborhood.²⁵

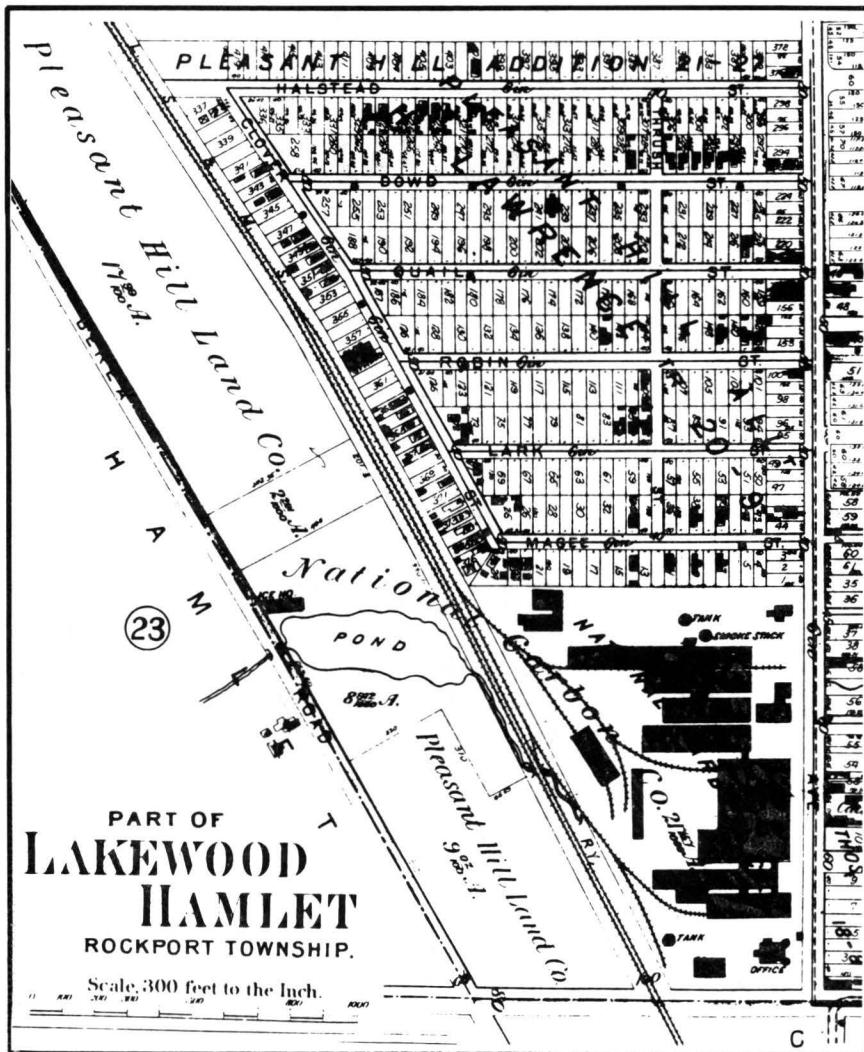
The Bird’s Nest, a single neighborhood, was equally isolated, but shared much more in common with the large ethnic enclaves in urban industrial areas throughout the United States. In 1892, a land company subsidiary (Pleasant Hill Land Company-PHLC) of the National Carbon Company laid out the eight narrow streets (five named for birds), and 424 lots to provide housing for workers at its new factory nearby.²⁶



MAP 1 — Commissioners of the District of Columbia, *Annual Report — 1897*
(Washington, 1897), 195-202.



MAP 2 — Sanborn Map Publishing Company, *Insurance Maps of Washington, D.C.* (New York, N.Y., 1888); and Federal Population Census Schedules, 1880 Washington, D.C., Vol. 2 part 2, Record Group 29 National Archives.



MAP 3 — Pleasant Hill Land Company subdivision of the "Bird's Nest" and the adjoining National Carbon Factory, 1898. Thomas Flynn, Otto Barthel, R.H. Bunning, and Thomas Hassan, *Atlas of the Suburbs of Cleveland, Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1898), Plate 24.

The neighborhood was circumscribed by railroad tracks, the factory, and a woods (later developed for a factory and park) on three sides; the fourth side, a secondary commercial artery, permitted some overflow into the immediate neighborhood to the north (see Map 3). While Bird's Nest workers were able to gain ownership of the area, it remained isolated from the surrounding area which was developing as a middle-class suburb.²⁷ Like the inward facing alley, the neighborhood also turned inward with its "main street," Plover, being the most isolated of its streets.²⁸

Migration and Neighborhood Size. Black migrants from the surrounding states of Virginia and Maryland, coming largely in chains of family, friends, and neighbors, settled into the alley communities.²⁹ Predominantly from rural areas, these migrants maintained ties to the countryside and encouraged further movement from those areas. While rural migrants had a number of different residential environments to choose from in the city, and often moved back and forth between these, many settled initially in the alleys. Alley populations varied considerably in size within a given year and over time. The smallest held one or two families, the largest over 400 people (see Map 1). Most alleys fell somewhere in between, with the average alley size in 1880 being 50 residents; at the peak of alley population in 1897, when there were nearly 20,000 alley residents living in 240 alleys, the average alley size was 73. These were, then, very small, face-to-face communities of black rural migrants.³⁰

In contrast, migrants to the Bird's Nest came from rural areas in Eastern Europe; most identified themselves as "Hungarian Slovaks," although some were from Poland and Russia.³¹ They also migrated in chains of relatives, friends, and neighbors as well as by region.³² Like black migration to the alleys, there was considerable movement back and forth between the Old World and the New. Unlike the alley population that reached its peak in 1900 and began to drop off, with each alley being a small isolated community onto itself, the Bird's Nest population of 429 in 1900 increased five-fold by 1910 and then doubled by 1920 at its peak (see Table 1.) This represents a different kind of ethnic enclave with potential for more substantive institutional development.

Occupations and Workplace. Black residents of Washington alleys confronted profound limitations in their search for work. Racism limited

employment of black males largely to day labor and black women to domestic or laundry work; none had access to the limited industrial occupations in Washington³³ (see Table 2). The employment open to alley dwellers, then, represented the worst paid, least secure, and often the most physically demanding and dangerous positions available. Moreover, despite long residence in the city, black alley dwellers experienced little if any upward occupational mobility; a color bar ensured that any movement would be minimal.³⁴

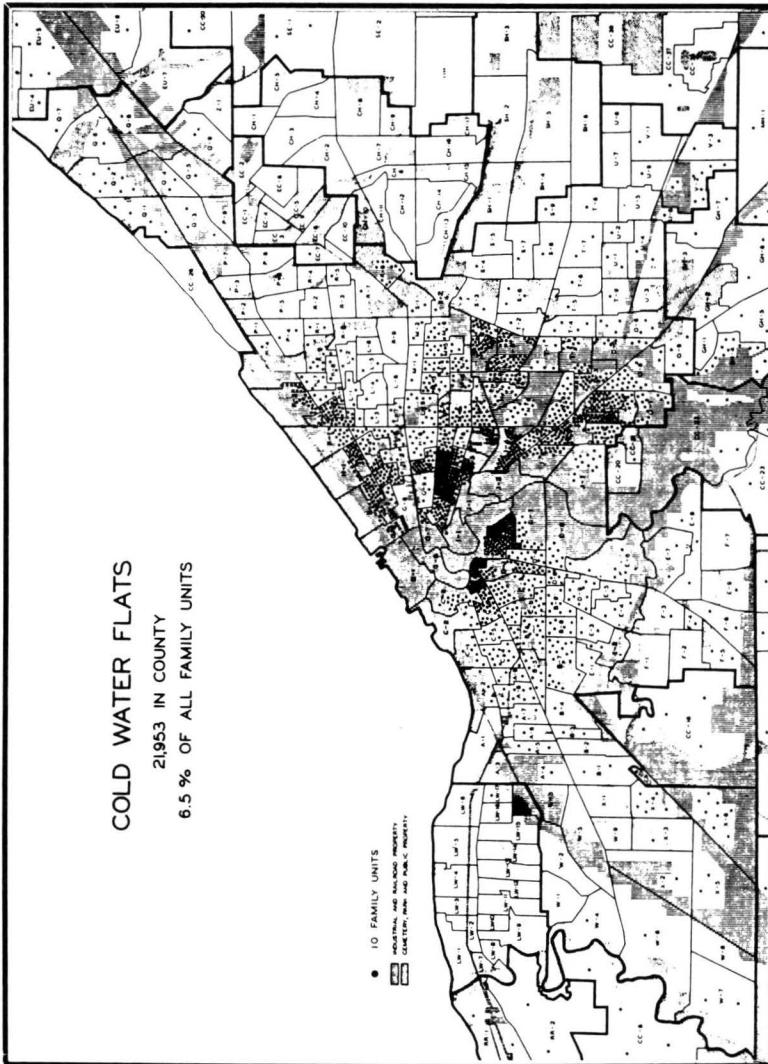
In contrast, while migrants from Eastern Europe came with similar skills as rural blacks, they often found industrial employment available to them, even though it was nearly always at the bottom. In 1900, most male residents of the Bird's Nest were laborers working at the adjacent National Carbon factory; by 1910, a number of residents had gained some mobility by gaining access to semi-skilled industrial occupations. Moreover, a number of women were able to gain industrial employment, although usually at the lowest levels; many others earned income by running boarding houses or taking in boarders. While this work was long, hard, physically demanding, and often dangerous, it was also more secure and better paying than anything available to alley dwellers. By 1940, employed male and female workers of the Bird's Nest were concentrated in semi-skilled positions (44 percent), with another 10 percent skilled and 13 percent proprietarial or white collar employees; only a third remained as unskilled or service workers³⁵ (see Table 3).

Living Conditions. Living conditions in most D.C. alleys were far from wholesome; crowding, poorly maintained buildings and out-houses, piles of uncollected trash in alleys, and the constant danger of contagious disease plagued residents. Despite the limited space inside the two-story 12x30 foot alley house, many were shared by more than one household unit; in some cases four family units lived in one small room each.³⁶ These crowded conditions made residents more susceptible to disease, while landlords' lack of concern for maintenance and the city's disinterest in collecting trash from the alleys exposed residents to disease in other ways. Limited and unstable income restricted diets while dangerous, outdoor work further taxed alley dwellers' health. Ultimately these conditions led to death rates for alley dwellers that were twice that for residents of the streets; the major causes were diseases that could clearly be linked to socio-economic status.³⁷ Children under the age of one year accounted for much of the high death rate.³⁸

While the Bird's Nest developed in a suburban setting and lacked the extreme density of the alley community, living conditions were little better. While outside the multi-family homes "everything was mud," inside the long, narrow two- and three-story buildings many families lived in tiny cold water flats³⁹ (see Map 4). Whereas alley dwellers had to go outside for water and toilets, Bird's Nesters shared "indoor water closets."⁴⁰ Residents of the latter community, however, were more likely to share their tiny apartments with boarders; 32 percent of households had boarders in 1910 (boarders made up one-fourth of the total population),⁴¹ while only 13 percent of 1880 alley households were augmented.⁴² The crowded living conditions in the Bird's Nest, along with the long hours at work and limited income, led to high death rates, especially for the very young.⁴³ In 1900, women reported over one-fourth of the children they had borne were dead,⁴⁴ a condition that continued in later years.

There are, then, substantial similarities between the two populations; Both came into the urban marketplace at the bottom; both lived in housing conditions that were crowded and dangerous; the "communities" were isolated physically and socially from the surrounding populations; both were made up of groups that had migrated in chains to the city. Nevertheless, residents of the Bird's Nest did have access to industrial jobs that were more stable and better paying; and these positions permitted some mobility from unskilled labor to semi- and eventually skilled jobs. In addition, where alley communities were largely limited in size by the number of houses built in each alley, and ultimately by the limited interior space of the block itself, the Bird's Nest faced less spatial constriction. This afforded the potential for more complete development. Finally, while alley dwellers seldom had the resources to purchase their alley homes from absentee landlords, residents of the Bird's Nest were encouraged to do so by the industrial developer of their community. Where ownership always remained external to the alley community, the Bird's Nest quickly became locally owned.

Despite these differences, each area developed a series of informal groups that provided the base for the formation of a neighborhood. That neighborhood, in turn, provided the foundation for the development of more formal organizations. Given the different resources and scale, however, residents developed different kinds of neighborhoods.



Bird's Nest = LW18

III. Neighborhoods

Alley Communities. Black migrants who came to Washington alleys re-established their kin and friendship networks in the alley; they continued to use these networks for emotional and financial support. Because their resources were so marginal, only reliance on these groups made survival more likely. Each alley then, had several or more such networks into which “fictive kin” were also drawn. They provided the most basic form of social organization, albeit informal, in the alley.⁴⁵

It was the alley neighborhood, itself, that brought these kin groups together into a loose, but cohesive unit. Since alleys were isolated from the surrounding neighborhood and often some distance from the emerging black enclaves of the city where the major institutions of black life were located, alley residents often had to fall back on themselves for help and support.

Drawing on their rural experience, migrants constructed informal defended neighborhoods to provide for their needs. In many respects, however, this informal community became much more important in the city because residents were more dependent on each other, especially in the period just following their migration. Since migration to the city (and alleys) continued throughout the period, and since there were always some “native” alley residents as well as some migrants who had lived in a given alley for many years, new migrants did not have to confront the urban environment alone. New neighbors, kin, and old friends helped ease the transition from country to city.⁴⁶

The alley itself⁴⁷ was the center of the alley community; residents congregated there, save in the worst weather, to meet with friends and neighbors.⁴⁸ A major location for informal meeting took place at the intersection of the two main alleys. All residents passed this point on their way into and out of the alleys; neighbors met each other here as they returned home from work each day, or hung out there during the day if there was no work available. In addition, residents generally sat in front of their homes and talked to neighbors who joined them on the steps, benches, or chairs set out for this purpose.⁴⁹

It is impossible to overestimate the value and import of this activity, for virtually every aspect of the alley community was based on this interaction. If neighboring provided an important element of entertainment, it also provided information on which neighbors needed help and where jobs were available. A critical function of the alley community

involved help and support for those in need; neighbors aided each other by providing money, food, and shelter while in some cases they took in friends' children and cared for them, in others they let neighborhood children sleep at their house "because they had more room."⁵⁰ A third function neighboring and the alley community provided was the maintenance of internal social control. Part of this came as a result of the positive support neighbors gave each other; they also used gossip and more formal sanctions to maintain order.⁵¹ Ultimately, these daily discussions about "appropriate behavior" by residents resulted in the hammering out of a common philosophy and world view; a world view that was shared by members of the community and differed from that of outsiders.⁵² Finally, alley dwellers defended their neighborhood against outsiders. Part of this resulted from their intensive use of alley space for neighboring, thus discouraging others from entering the area. When outsiders did enter they were confronted by residents and watched throughout their alley visit, an experience that unnerved many observers of alley life.⁵³

Alley dwellers had good reason to watch "outsiders"; other Washingtonians, black and white, generally viewed residents of the alleys with great disdain. While the police were especially harsh in their attempts to control alley populations, other residents, though less overt in their actions, expressed nearly universal condemnation of alley dwellers.⁵⁴ This external hostility helped hold the alley community together, despite its internal dissension. Disputes over life style dominated these schisms, but the small scale of the neighborhood, the necessity to cooperate to survive, and the external threats effectively held residents together.

Because of its small size and very limited resources, however, the alley community was not able to develop or support a very extensive set of formal organizations. It did provide an excellent medium for small alley churches, which were simply alley houses residents rented "for Jesus." They were kept going by neighbors' contributions and the pastors' earnings from "doing occasional laundry" or other work.⁵⁵ While most alleys seem to have had at least one of these churches, their small size — "Ten chairs and a pulpit, and an improvised altar" — makes the extent of participation problematic.⁵⁶

Alley businesses were equally marginal, and often involved in illegal activity. Like the semi-formal alley church, these businesses required conversion of part of an alley house into a "speak-easy" or "fac-

tory" for the manufacture of illegal alcohol, or often both. While these were clearly illegal and were often closed down by law enforcement officials, they provided an important service for the alley neighborhood in representing a "proto" neighborhood tavern and community center where residents could meet.⁵⁷

The Bird's Nest. As early as 1889, Slovak migrants began work on the construction of the new National Carbon factory.⁵⁸ After the factory was completed, these workers and their friends were hired to work in the factory.⁵⁹ Like alley dwellers, initial settlers in the Bird's Nest began a chain migration, at first drawing from the other Slovak enclaves throughout the city and eventually reaching back to Hungary. This process resulted in extended kin networks being reformulated in the new neighborhood. In a number of cases, this reformulation extended to Old World village parishes. Within the first few years, many of the core families had moved in and established themselves. Friends, neighbors, and co-religionists followed. As one oral history reported, "many times the men came along first, leaving wives and children behind in Slovakia, until they had found work and could send back for their families. When they came first, they sought out others from the same village who were already" in the neighborhood.⁶⁰

The most critical form of organization, however, was the neighborhood itself. Like the alley community, the neighborhood remained largely informal; initially it was a grouping of kin networks largely of Slovak ancestry. Yet this informal "institution" provided the preconditions necessary for the construction of other aspects of the community.

In large part the migrants established their control over the neighborhood in the first years of settlement, 1892-1900. Although the area was then only slightly bigger than the largest alley, these early migrants and their families established a beachhead that was never challenged. Unlike alley dwellers who never gained ownership of their neighborhood, residents of the Bird's Nest quickly bought up the small parcels of land (whether simply cleared by the PHLC, or built upon),⁶¹ as soon as their finances made it possible.⁶² Along Plover, migrants purchased 43 percent of the lots prior to 1900; only three of the 35 lots on the street may have been initially purchased by non-Slavs.⁶³ Residents gained ownership of most of the 424 lots in the subdivisions on initial sale; with few exceptions, they eventually gained control over the remaining ones as well.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of neighborhood development is the extent to which residents drew on each other's skills and resources to construct houses, stores, and shops. Of the 171 lots for which information is available on the initial construction, 92 percent of the owners were already residents of the neighborhood. While many built their own home (or a building to rent), those owners who hired a builder to construct their houses overwhelmingly chose a resident of the neighborhood (64 percent). Many of the non-resident builders were also of Slavic origin, but lived in one of the other enclaves spread throughout the city.⁶⁴ To an impressive extent, then, residents bought up the neighborhood land, and personally built their own home or a home to sell to more recent migrants; when they did not do their own construction they hired neighbors. In doing so, they established an impressive investment upon which they could draw or build on in the future.⁶⁵

Having established a turf and access to employment, residents encouraged new migrants to join them. Whereas the majority of the first residents had migrated to the United States in the ten years prior to the building of the factory, the massive influx of new migrants in the first two decades of the twentieth century came directly to the neighborhood. Slovaks continued their domination of the neighborhood (70 percent), while Slovak was the most common language.⁶⁶

One of the key attractions of this New Slovak/Slavic village, in addition to the presence of friends, relatives, and an ethnic neighborhood, was the presence of employment possibilities in industry. Having made important inroads from the beginning of the construction of the new factory, Slovaks, and to a lesser extent Poles and Russians, dominated the lowest level of employment in the factory.⁶⁷ There is some indication that the original plant on the east side of Cleveland may also have employed workers from a nearby Slovak enclave. These employees may have been attracted to the new factory by the availability of land; a disastrous fire at the older plant in 1893 may well have speeded up this process.⁶⁸ Whatever the initial connection, Slovaks and other Slavic migrants established a beachhead in the factory from the beginning by drawing on their informal networks.⁶⁹ June Alexander found a similar condition for Slovaks in Pittsburgh, namely that "factories relied on their foremen to hire workers and foremen, in turn, relied on their workers as intermediaries to find laborers."⁷⁰ As migrants worked their way slowly up the ranks to semi-skilled and occasionally foremen positions, they

gained more direct access to the hiring process. With the informal neighborhood networks, Slovaks came to dominate both workplace and neighborhood.⁷¹

While informal social control and aid permeated the early years of the Bird's Nest as it did in the alleys, the rapid growth of the neighborhood in the first decade of the twentieth century permitted the development of more formal organizations. Residents of different religious persuasions met separately; initially these meetings, like the alley church, were worship services held in co-religionists' homes. Eventually these meetings led to the formation of lodges and other more formal organizations designed to bring about the formation of a parish and the building of a church.⁷² The first parish, Sts. Peter and Paul Lutheran, was officially formed in 1901 (church building-1902/school some years later); it was followed by Sts. Cyril and Methodius Roman Catholic Church in 1903 (church building and school-1905); St. Gregory's Byzantine Rite Catholic Church in 1905 (church building 1906/school some years later); and the Calvin Presbyterian Church in 1917 (church building-1921).



Calvin Presbyterian Church in the foreground occupies the first site of Sts. Peter and Paul Lutheran Church. In the background is St. Gregory's Byzantine Rite Catholic Church. (Photograph by authors, January, 1984).



Sts. Peter and Paul Lutheran. (Photograph by authors, January, 1984).



SS. Cyril and Methodius Roman Catholic Church. (Photograph by authors, January, 1984).

These “predominantly” Slovak parishes were joined by those of the other ethnic groups sharing the neighborhood, the first of which was St. Hedwig’s Church (Roman Catholic Polish Parish) in 1905 (church building-1914/school-1926). Because residents took the initiative in the formation of these parishes and schools, they often had considerable control over their direction, especially in the early years.⁷³

These parishes made the neighborhood even more attractive to potential migrants; their founding at the beginning of the decade undoubtedly encouraged many others to migrate. Religious schools provided another incentive, especially to Slovaks who witnessed their own schools closed or “converted for Magyarization” in the homeland. For residents in the Bird’s Nest, these schools represented a way to avoid efforts at Americanization promoted by the public schools. As a result many children from the neighborhood attended these parochial schools.⁷⁴

Drawing on their growing neighborhood and its greater resources (compared to alley communities), residents of the Bird’s Nest also started an incredible number of businesses. While most of these were small stores and shops that served the immediate neighborhood, several developed into substantial businesses that provided necessary goods and services for ethnic and religious needs.⁷⁵ Most important, however, was the formation of Eagle Building and Loan Company in 1911. Controlled from within the neighborhood, residents built an institution that made possible complete acquisition and building of the area, and expansion beyond.⁷⁶ The building and loan was critical since over fifty percent of the neighborhood’s lots were sold by the PHLC during the 1910s, while the period from 1912 to 1917 was the period of greatest home construction.⁷⁷

Although the neighborhood was divided by ethnicity, religion, and class, as well as by very different attitudes on assimilation,⁷⁸ these divisions were subsumed by the needs of the neighborhood and the workings of informal groups. For some, the community revolved around the parish; Peter Glovna remembered that “it was just like a little village, and the pillar was St. Cyril.”⁷⁹ Nevertheless, they were a series of community-wide activities that drew residents together.⁸⁰ Most important, “the first settlers tried to reconstruct, as closely as possible, the village system they were so accustomed to in Poland, Russia, and Slovakia. The close-knit warmth and familiarity of the village provided security and a sense of home to the recently displaced immigrants.”⁸¹

Ultimately, residents used the neighborhood as alley residents did theirs; everyone knew everyone else and interaction on the streets, front yards, and porches was extensive, especially in warm weather.⁸²

This neighboring activity, largely through informal, small groups of relatives and friends, made up a critical element in the neighborhood life. It provided the first level (past kin network) of organization, one that replicated itself as formal groups began in the churches, lodges, and benevolent associations as well as the workplace. These primary groups provided members with an immediate sense of belonging, a connection with larger, more formal organizations, and a way by which members of the primary group could collectively continue to construct a world view, maintain social control, and provide help and support for the needy.⁸³

Like the alley community, the Bird's Nest found that the external threat was often sufficient to contain internal conflict. Hostility, both formal (from police and other official sources) and informal (from personal prejudice directed at residents), was extensive throughout the period. Outsiders, as in the case of alley communities, targeted the neighborhood as an eyesore and danger to the rest of the community; and police exercised their authority to "maintain social control by overenforcing the law."⁸⁴

IV. Conclusions

Based on these examples, it seems clear that migrants, via chain migration and efforts to gain entry/control over admission to a job market, began to establish residential enclaves.⁸⁵ If the process of neighborhood formation appears to have begun almost unconsciously, its development was quite conscious. While the presence of such neighborhoods is taken as given to most studies, what stands out in these two examples is the extent to which migrants took over their respective turfs, defended them, and built informal and formal institutions around them. In fact, the clustering provided the necessary context for virtually every further institutional development. If some or many migrants eventually passed through and out of the neighborhood, it remained(s) an important focal point in the lives of many, even those who could "escape" to more affluent suburban settlements.⁸⁶ The neighborhood, then, must be taken more fully into account as one, if not the most critical, of migrant institutions.

These neighborhoods provided the base for survival in the new urban environment. They were the source of housing, employment, mutual aid, protection, family, and friends. They permitted parents to raise their children in an environment and through institutions over which the families exerted some control. They also provided a safe harbor from which migrants confronted the confusing city. Moreover, neighbors worked out their responses to the issues of ethnicity, acculturation, and assimilation in this context of everyday life. If neighbors chose diverging paths, they were nevertheless paths that developed within the confines and context of the ethnic enclave. Rather than the stilted backwaters that Robert Park and others saw, these enclaves were vibrant with conflicts over life style, changing ethnic identity, adaptation, and even international issues.⁸⁷ Thus, to understand migrant organizations and the role they played in acculturation and ethnic identity, it is necessary to consider the first institution migrants created in the city, the neighborhood.⁸⁸

While these two neighborhoods were dramatically different, they both fit well into Suttles' definition of a defended neighborhood. It seems quite likely that most immigrant enclaves also fit this description, even in cases where the areas was not so highly segregated from the surrounding city by either physical barriers or class differences. A number of recent studies demonstrate that defended neighborhoods can hold up without these two elements.⁸⁹ However, what seems most important here is the significance of scale. Because alley neighborhoods were small and unable to develop extensive formal organizations does not mean that they were any less important for maintaining and developing an ethnic consciousness and way of life. Rather, what the alley neighborhood seems to suggest is that small scale enclaves, whether hidden in alleys, or scattered along street fronts, continue to have flourishing primary group life: internal order and control, social service activities, and even some proto institutional life. Moreover, it is likely that ethnic identity is heightened in those situations when other groups are in such close proximity.⁹⁰

In the case of the Bird's Nest or larger ethnic communities,⁹¹ the significance of the neighborhood is often overlooked because of the extent of ethnic organizational and business life. However, it is the population scale that makes possible this development. Nevertheless, these areas continue to be marked by extensive informal groups; their aggregate

makes the neighborhood and keeps it operating, although formal associations play an important role.

Ultimately, then, we should expect smaller settlements to develop strong informal groups but few formal ones; the larger the community, the greater the potential for formal organizations to develop, although informal group life remains active and important. It may well be, as Fischer suggests, that ethnic identity is greatest in these smaller areas, less able to adapt or adjust to the new world. In larger enclaves, migrants have more space to consider alternatives, to pick and chose from diverging paths, more ability to adapt or adjust to things "American" by incorporating them into their repertoire and making them "their own."⁹²

Finally, in addition to the observations concerning the importance of neighborhood as a migrant institution, it is worth noting the different conditions white and black migrants confronted. The caste barrier blacks confronted in Washington as well as the severely restricted housing market limited the potential for community development. Alley dwellers utilized highly creative methods to circumvent the nearly impossible conditions they confronted. To survive in this environment was success. In contrast, Slovak men and women were able to gain entry to more stable and better paying industrial jobs; eventually they secured some movement into semi- and even skilled positions as a result of their tenacious hold over jobs in their neighborhood. By doing so, they established ethnic occupational beachheads for their kin and progeny, while blacks were limited to day labor and positions in the secondary labor market.⁹³ Similarly, Slovaks and other white ethnics through considerable personal and family sacrifice were able to purchase their turf; few black alley dwellers were ever so fortunate. In short, Bird Nesters could use their ethnic ties to establish and maintain occupational and property turf; blacks were "permitted" those jobs and housing no one else wanted. Dominance of these turfs, occupational and residential, were always transitory, requiring incredible human effort to maintain them or develop new ones. They seldom permitted an opportunity to grow or expand.

NOTES

¹ Oscar Handlin concludes that "wherever the immigrants went, there was one common experience they shared: nowhere could they transplant the European village. Whatever the variations among environments in America, none was familiar. The pressure of that strangeness exerted a deep influence upon the character of resettlement, upon the usual forms of behavior, and upon the notes of communal action that emerged as the immigrants became Americans." *The Uprooted* (2nd edn., Boston, 1973), 129.

² Louis Wirth noted that the "shift from a rural to a predominantly urban society . . . has been accompanied by profound changes in virtually every phase of social life," with the "substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of bonds of kinship, and the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighborhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity." *On Cities and Social Life*, ed. by Albert Reiss, Jr. (Chicago, 1964), 79-80. See also Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (July, 1938), 1-24.

³ Ernest Burgess, who devised the concentric zone theory from which this comes, concluded that "disorganization as preliminary to reorganization of attitudes and conduct is almost invariably the lot of the newcomer to the city." "The Growth of the City," in Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess, *The City* (Chicago, 1967), 54, 47-62.

⁴ Howard Chudacoff found that while foreign born migrants "may have retained their social, economic, and religious communities, their incidence of movement out of the old neighborhoods and around the city make residential coherence a very temporary experience." "A New Look at Ethnic Neighborhoods: Residential Dispersion and the Concept of Visibility in a Medium-Sized City," *Journal of American History*, 60 (June, 1973), 91. See also Chudacoff, *Mobile Americans: Residential and Social Mobility in Omaha, 1880-1920* (New York, 1972), 154-55; Humbert S. Nelli, *The Italians in Chicago: 1880-1930* (New York, 1970), xii-xiii; Sam Bass Warner and Colin B. Burke, "Cultural Change and the Ghetto," *Journal of Contemporary History*, 4 (October, 1969), 173-88; David Ward, "The Internal Spatial Differentiation of Immigrant Residential Districts," in *Geographic Perspectives on America's Past*, ed. by David Ward (New York, 1979), 335-43; and Ward, "The Emergence of Central Immigrant Ghettos in American Cities: 1840-1920," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 38 (1968), 343-59.

⁵ The most classic statement of this position was that of E. Franklin Frazier: Southern black migrants to northern cities lost "restraints imposed by a simple folk culture" and created a "class of roving Negroes who will live a lawless sex and quasi-family life." "The Impact of Urban Civilization upon Negro Family Life," *American Sociological Review*, 2 (October, 1937), 618. See also Frazier's *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago, 1966), 207-92; Clyde Vernon Kiser, *Sea Island to City* (New York, 1968), 223; Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (New York, 1964), 135-49; Allen H. Spear, *Black Chicago: The Making of a Negro Ghetto* (Chicago, 1967), 167-80, x; Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Secret City*

(Princeton, 1967); and David Katzman, *Before the Ghetto* (Urbana, 1973).

⁶ Warner notes that religious conflicts in American cities “forced all city dwellers to think of themselves either as Protestants or Catholics” or Jews, not as members of specific ethnic groups. “Cultural Change and Ghetto,” 178. See also Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (New York, 1955).

⁷ Gilbert Osofsky, “The Enduring Ghetto,” *Journal of American History*, 55 (September, 1968).

⁸ Kenneth Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland 1870-1930* (Urbana, Ill., 1976); Douglas Daniels, *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco* (Philadelphia, 1980); and Thomas Cox, *Blacks in Topeka, Kansas: A Social History* (Baton Rouge, La., 1982).

⁹ Josef J. Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 64-90; M. Mark Stolarik, “Immigration and Urbanization: The Slovak Experience, 1870-1918” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1974), 69-109; Sylvia June Granatir Alexander, “The Immigrant Church and Community: The Formation of Pittsburgh’s Slovak Religious Institutions, 1880-1914” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1980), 209-355, 443-518; Alexander, “Staying Together: Chain Migration and Patterns of Slovak Settlement in Pittsburgh Prior to World War I,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, I (Fall, 1981), 56-83; Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee: 1836-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 154-191; and Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977).

¹⁰ A number of studies do develop the role of family life in migrant settlements; this work represents a major contribution to the analysis of “informal” or primary group life in the city. For example, see Tamara K. Hareven, “The Historical Study of the Family in Urban Society,” *Journal of Urban History*, I (May, 1975). Unfortunately, such studies neglect the relationship of family and extended kin network to other informal-primary groups of neighborhood and community. What is missing here is a discussion of the informal social organization that makes up the neighborhood. For more complete analyses of social networks, see J. Clyde Mitchell, ed., *Social Networks in Urban Situations* (Manchester, 1969); Elizabeth Bott, *Family and Social Network* (New York, 1971); and Claude S. Fischer, *To Dwell Among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City* (Chicago, 1982).

¹¹ For example, see Kathleen Neils Conzen, “Commentary: Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues,” *Journal of American History*, 66 (December, 1979), 603-15.

¹² Suzanne Keller, *The Urban Neighborhood* (New York, 1968).

¹³ Gerald Suttles, *The Social Construction of Communities* (Chicago, 1972), 21, 3-107.

¹⁴ Roman A. Cybriwsky, “Social Aspects of Neighborhood Change,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 68 (1978), 27. In contrast, the concept of the community of limited liability, originally developed by Morris Janowitz, emphasizes “the intentional, voluntary, and especially, the partial and differentiated involve-

ment of residents in their local communities.” Suttles, *Social Construction of Communities*, 47, 44-81. See also Morris Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting: The Social Elements of Urbanism* (Chicago, 1952). The contrived community is one that is planned, at least in part, with a design to promote a certain kind of community. New towns probably fall most closely into this category. See Suttles, *Social Construction of Communities*, 82-107.

¹⁵ Formal organization is an association that “is more or less purposefully created for the attainment of relatively specific and limited goals.” Marvin E. Olsen, *The Process of Social Organization* (New York, 1968), 92. Members are only partially involved and committed to such “limited-liability” organizations; they relate to each other largely in terms of the organization and their specific interest in its goals. While members may become “friends,” implying a much more intense relationship, and perhaps the development of a primary group or network, this is not the goal of the formal organization. Primary or informal groups, on the other hand, are “those characterized by intimate, face-to-face association and co-operation,” i.e., “the family, the play-group of children, and the neighborhood or community of elders.” Charles Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York, 1923), 23, 24. For a review of the significant roles of informal groups, see Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influences* (New York, 1955), 31-42.

¹⁶ For a discussion of this point, see James Borchert, “Urban Neighborhood and Community: Informal Group Life, 1850-1970,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 11 (Spring, 1981), 607-31; Floyd Dodson, “Patterns of Voluntary Association among Working-Class Families,” *American Sociological Review*, 16 (1951), 687-93; and Bennett Berger, *Working Class Suburb* (Berkeley, Ca., 1971), 59-73.

¹⁷ Robert Redfield, “The Folk Society,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 52 (January, 1947), 293-308. This is not to suggest that migrants had no experience with formal groups prior to migration. As Barton, Stolarik, and others have demonstrated, migrants brought both formal and informal groups with them. While few have made direct comparisons of formal groups in their two settings (Barton is an important partial exception here), virtually no one has compared informal groups.

¹⁸ James S. Pilant, *The Envelope: A Study of the Impact of the World upon the Child* (New York, 1950); Suttles, *The Social Construction of Communities*, 21-43.

¹⁹ Chain migration has been defined as “that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants” (authors’ italics). John S. Macdonald and Leatrice D. Macdonald, “Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation, and Social Networks,” *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 42 (January, 1964), 82.

²⁰ These vary, of course, by ethnic groups, circumstances, and over time, as well as by class. Special foods and restaurants are probably the most obvious examples, but churches and lodges are probably the most universal “services.” Professionals and ethnic business are also important elements of the urban village, especially funeral homes; they continue to draw former residents and their children back to the urban

village, at least on special occasions. Finally, many who left the "village" continue to own buildings there; their rental income made "escape" easier; it did not, however, break the ties.

²¹ See Suttles, *The Social Construction of Communities*, 21-43.

²² These environments are strikingly different; the two groups are even more different in terms of their past experiences, institutional life, and cultural baggage. Comparison, then, presents considerable problems; limited data make this even more problematic.

²³ For other efforts to compare the black and white experience, see Stanley Lieberson, *A Piece of the Pie: Blacks and White Immigrants Since 1880* (Berkeley, Ca., 1980); John Bodnar, Michael Weber, and Roger Simon, "Migration, Kinship, and Urban Adjustment: Blacks and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1930," *Journal of American History*, 66 (December, 1979), 548-565; and Bodnar, Simon, Weber, *Lives of their Own: Blacks, Italians, and Poles in Pittsburgh, 1900-1960* (Urbana, Ill., 1982).

²⁴ For a more complete discussion, see Borchert, *Alley Life in Washington* (Urbana, Ill., 1980). For a discussion of alleys elsewhere, see 223-37, 312-17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1-56.

²⁶ Cuyahoga County Treasurer's Department Tax Duplicates, 1894-1923. Cuyahoga County Archives; Margaret Manor Butler, *The Lakewood Story* (New York, 1949); 228; "City Plays Vital Role," newspaper clipping-source unknown, May 5, 1955. Lakewood Historical Society; "National Carbon Company," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, September 10, 1977. The neighborhood has been known by a series of names; Bird's Nest and Bird Town derive from the predominance of streets with bird names. Other names suggest how the neighborhood has been viewed by outsiders: The Settlement, the Village, "Dago Forum," Carbon Town, "Little Slovakia," and the Carbon District. John Fedor, "Just Look at the Street Signs to Find Bird Town," *Lakewood Ledger*, December 14, 1967; Butler, *Lakewood Story*, 188, 228-29; Butler, *Romance in Lakewood Streets* (Cleveland, 1962), 41; Cynthia A. Ruder, "The Imprint of Cultural Values on Birdtown, Lakewood, Ohio," unpublished typescript, May 1, 1978. Lakewood Historical Society.

²⁷ Cuyahoga County Auditor's Tax Maps, Cuyahoga County Administration Building. Vol. 35-City of Lakewood. 1890-1982.

²⁸ Fedor, "Just Look at the Street Signs."

²⁹ Records of the District of Columbia, Record Group 351. National Archives. Board of Children's Guardians, *Children's History*, III: 1129, 1162, 1392; IV: 1581. See also Borchert, "Surviving the City: Persistence and Change in Black Folkways of Life in a New Environment," paper presented at the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, October 21-24, 1982, Baltimore, Maryland, 8.

³⁰ Federal Population Census Schedules, 1880, Washington, D.C., Record Group 29. National Archives; and Commissioners of the District of Columbia, *Annual Report-1897* (Washington, 1897), 195-202.

³¹ Federal Population Census Schedules, 1910, Lakewood, Ohio. National Archives. See also Federal Population Census Schedules, 1900, Lakewood, Ohio. National Ar-

chives. The less precise category “country of origin” makes it impossible to know, other than Hungary, where migrants came from. The 1910 census clears this matter up through more precise designation; in this case 70 percent listed themselves as “Hungarian Slovaks” rather than merely “Hungary,” as in 1900. “Language” also permits more precise determination.

³² While Josef Barton has concluded that Slovak migration to Cleveland was from more generally dispersed areas in Slovakia, migrating more by district than personal or village chains, other studies report considerably more personal contacts in the migration process, both generally among Slovak migrants and specifically for Cleveland. *Peasants and Strangers*, 50-51, 54, 59, 63. Emily Greene Balch reports that nearly 99 percent of Slovaks entering the United States in 1907-1908 planned to join relatives or friends. *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens* (New York, 1910), 433. Alexander reports that while Slovak migrants to Pittsburgh did migrate in chains either by village, or by the more loose “district” pattern Barton found, the selection of one’s residence in a given city was strongly influenced by friends and relatives. “The Immigrant Church,” 55, 68. Mark Stolarik also found “Slovaks in the United States and Canada originally reside(d) in distinct neighborhoods near their parish churches . . . most of these in each congregation hailed from the same cluster of villages in the old country.” “Immigration and Urbanization,” 40. Stolarik and his co-authors of a study of Cleveland Slovaks reported similar findings for that city. Susi Megles, Mark Stolarik, and Martina Tybor, *Slovak Americans and their Communities of Cleveland* (Cleveland, 1979), 132. More important for this study, Stolarik’s analysis of parish records of one Bird’s Nest church found 68 percent were from the extreme end of one Slovak county; “nearly half of the group was from . . . three neighboring villages.” “Immigration and Urbanization,” 41. For other information on chain migration of Bird’s Nest residents, see Mary Towarnicky, “Helping One Another in the New Land: The Old Timers Remember,” in SS. Cyril and Methodius Church, *Diamond Jubilee, 1903-1978* (Lakewood, 1978), 67; and Common Pleas Court, Records of Declaration of Intention, Cuyahoga County Archives. Vols. 1-30, October 10, 1906-September 8, 1913.

³³ Lorenzo J. Greene and Myra Colson Callis, *The Employment of Negroes in the District of Columbia* (Washington, 1930), 65.

³⁴ Borchert, *Alley Life*, 166-77.

³⁵ Federal Population Census Schedules, 1900, 1910, Lakewood, Ohio; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population and Housing-1940: Cleveland, Ohio and Adjacent Area* (Washington, 1942), 106. This is not to suggest that conditions were easy or wages high. Ján Pankuch notes that “during the first years . . . their wages barely met their needs.” *Dejiny Clevelandských a Lakewoodských Slovákov* (Cleveland, 1930), 24.

³⁶ Borchert, *Alley Life*, 85.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 183. The impact of alley conditions can be seen most clearly in comparison to national statistics. In 1910 the death rate for urban whites was 14.6 per thousand; for urban blacks, 24.3. James H. Jones, *Bad Blood* (New York, 1981), 37. For street

dwelling Washingtonians (white and black), the death rate per thousand was 17.56; for alley residents it was 30.09. William Henry Jones, *The Housing of Negroes in Washington, D.C.* (Washington, 1929), 45.

³⁸ Borchert, *Alley Life*, 183.

³⁹ Albina Molek, "Builders of the Spirit," *Cleveland News*, November 18, 1949; Howard Whipple Green, *Planes of Living in Cuyahoga County: as Depicted by the Real Property Survey* (Cleveland, 1940), 65.

⁴⁰ Green, *Planes of Living*, 58.

⁴¹ Federal Population Census Schedules, 1910, Lakewood, Ohio.

⁴² Federal Population Census Schedules, 1880, Washington, D.C. See Borchert, *Alley Life*, 68.

⁴³ Butler, *Lakewood Story*, 188.

⁴⁴ Federal Population Census Schedules, 1910, Lakewood, Ohio. In 1911, residents of the larger community, led by a prominent member of the Rhodes family, established a clinic in the neighborhood because of the severe health conditions, especially the high infant mortality. "Dispensary," in "History of Lakewood," Clipping file, Lakewood Historical Society; and Butler, *Lakewood Story*, 188-89.

⁴⁵ Borchert, *Alley Life*, 69-85.

⁴⁶ It is important to note that the household unit, which is usually considered the base of the urban neighborhood, was only part of a more important extended kinship network which included fictive kin adopted in the countryside or city. These extra-household units tie residents of the alley together into "cliques" that make up the larger alley community. Alley residents were linked together in other ways; marriage of two alley residents linked two families and kin networks together. After some time, it is possible that most long-term residents in a given alley were linked by kinship to each other in multiple ways.

⁴⁷ Because the alley neighborhood/community remained an informal institution with no "records" of its activities, it is very difficult to determine the full extent of neighborhood activities and their import. Nevertheless, some aspects do seem to stand out: neighboring and entertaining, aid to the needy, common action on community needs, internal social control, and defense of the neighborhood against outsiders.

⁴⁸ For a description of the alley as meeting place, see *Washington National Intelligencer*, July 25, 1865; *Washington Times*, September 11, 1904; *Washington Star*, June 6, 1930; *Washington Daily News*, April 15, 1954; Charles Weller, *Neglected Neighbors* (Philadelphia, 1909), 17, 82; Wilbur V. Mallalieu, "A Washington Alley," Survey, 28 (October 19, 1912), 71; Gladys Sellew, *A Deviant Social Situation: A Court* (Washington, 1938), 17; and Daniel D. Swinney, "Alley Dwellings and Housing Reform in the District of Columbia" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1938), 141-42. During the winter, several homes in a given alley seem to have served as meeting spots. Dora Bessie Somerville, "A Study of a Group of Negro Children Living in an Alley Culture" (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1941), 20. These homes usually dispensed liquor, often homemade, providing residents with a social

center and tenants with a “second income.”

⁴⁹ For a discussion based on an analysis of historical photographs, see “Photographs and the Study of the Past,” in Borchert, *Alley Life*, 291-93; Borchert, “Analysis of Historical Photographs,” *Studies in Visual Communication*, 7 (Fall, 1981), 51-56; and Borchert, “Alley Landscapes of Washington,” *Landscape*, 23 (No. 3, 1979), 6-8.

⁵⁰ Marion M. Ratigan, *A Sociological Survey of Disease in Four Alleys in the National Capital* (Washington, 1946), 59; Mary Redempta Forestall, “Trends in Housing, Delinquency, and Health in the Central Northwest Area in Washington, D.C.” (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1938), 32; Grace Vawter Bicknell, *The Inhabited Alleys of Washington, D.C.* (Washington, 1912), 31; Weller, *Neglected Neighbors*, 47; Leonise Ruth Aubry, “Ambitions of Youth in a Poor Economic Status” (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1938), 3; Sellew, *Deviant Social Situation*, 46, 54; Sommerville, “Study of a Group of Negro Children,” 24; *Washington Daily News*, August 29, 1941; Swinney, “Alley Dwellings and Housing Reform,” 50, 73; Leonor Enriquez Pablo, “The Housing Needs and Social Problems of Residents in a Deteriorated Area” (M.S.W. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1953), 56; Board of Children’s Guardians, *Children’s History*, I-VII (see especially I:233-34; II: 657, 667, 801); *Washington National Republican*, March 24, 1862; and *Washington Times*, September 11, 1904.

⁵¹ While it is impossible to recreate conversations between residents from the existing historical records, it is clear from a large body of literature in sociology and anthropology that gossip plays a critical role in the maintenance of order as well as the development of a common world view. Scholars of black rural and small town life in the South noted the importance of gossip; Charles Johnson found that “community gossip exercises restraint There are limits . . . and when these limits are reached violators are treated with unmistakable group disapproval.” *Shadow of the Plantation* (Chicago, 1941), 81, 82. Similarly, Hylian Lewis concluded that “gossip, or the possibility of gossip” makes residents “more careful of their behavior.” *Blackways of Kent* (New Haven, Conn., 1962), 193. “Those who show signs of group status deviation . . . are subject of a kind of group pressure marked by resentment and criticism.” *Ibid.*, 191.

⁵² See Al. L. Epstein, “Gossip, Norms, and Social Network,” in *Social Networks in Urban Situations*, 117-27.

⁵³ For example, see Swinney, “Alley Dwellings and Housing Reform,” 136-37; and Pablo, “Housing Needs and Social Problems,” 42.

⁵⁴ Borchert, “Urban Neighborhood and Community,” 615-18.

⁵⁵ Swinney, “Alley Dwellings and Housing Reform,” 121.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*; *Washington Post*, December 26, 1948; Weller, *Neglected Neighbors*, 17, 22, 97; Mallalieu, “Washington Alley,” 71; and the Rev. Daniel O’Connell, “The Inhabited Alleys of Washington and the Early Social History of One Alley” (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1953), 110. It is important to note that attendance in the rural South does not seem to have been especially large based on Lewis’ findings for Kent. Lewis, *Blackways of Kent*, 129-30.

⁵⁷ Borchert, *Alley Life*, 185-86.

⁵⁸ Pankuch, *Dejiny*, 22.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; Mary Towarnicky, "Slovak Newcomers to America," in SS. Cyril and Methodius Church, *Diamond Jubilee, 1903-1978* (Lakewood, 1978), 66; Towarnicky, "Helping One Another," 67.

⁶⁰ Towarnicky, "Helping One Another," 67.

⁶¹ The Pleasant Hill Land Company was owned and run by Washington H. Lawrence, the president of the National Carbon Company. It seems clear that Lawrence purchased an extra large parcel of land from the Case Estate with the intention of developing a residential area for workers. Butler, *Lakewood Story*, 228; "City Plays Vital Role," "National Carbon Company," *Plain Dealer*; and G. Frederick Wright, *Representative Citizens of Ohio: Memorial-Biographical* (Cleveland, 1914), 181-84. Since the factory was well outside the built-up parts of Cleveland, Lawrence may well have considered this development a necessity to attract workers; he must also have planned to make a good return on his investment. The difficulty of the commute from in-city residences to the plant prior to the completion of a street car line in 1898 was incredible. For examples, see "City Plays a Vital Role" and Pankuch, *Dejiny*, 23.

⁶² Initially the early buildings were rented to workers; however, the PHLC sold off most of the improved lots within a couple years of construction. Cuyahoga County Treasurer's Tax Duplicates, 1894-1923. There is some indication that the National Carbon Company (via PHLC) "sold lots to . . . immigrants on installments." Loretta Ivany, "'Birdtown' Became City's Ethnic Center," *Sun Post*, June 30, 1979.

⁶³ Cuyahoga County Auditor's Tax Maps, Cuyahoga County Administration Building. Migrants bought up lots on Plover first because they were cheaper due to their proximity to the railroad tracks. Pankuch, *Dejiny*, 23. Residents not only bought up land in the neighborhood as soon as they could afford to, they also held on to the land, passing it on to relatives or selling it within the community. Paul Wrobel found a similar practice when he did an extensive participant-observation study of a Polish-American parish in Detroit. *Our Way: Family, Parish and Neighborhood in a Polish-American Community* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1979), 5.

⁶⁴ City of Lakewood, Building Department, Building Permits, 1900(?)-1982. It is interesting to note that no building permits appear to have been taken out by the PHLC, despite the fact that they clearly improved and built on one-fifth of the lots over the thirty year period before the last lot was sold (1923). Although the city records are incomplete, and use of building permits seems to have been casual in the early years, as well as the fact that many early records have not survived, it is strange that no PHLC permits remain in the records. Insurance maps and descriptive sources do confirm the company's activity in this area prior to 1900. Thomas Flynn, Otto Barthel, R.H. Bunning, and Thomas Hassan, *Atlas of the Suburbs of Cleveland, Ohio* (Philadelphia, 1898), Plate 24; Margaret Butler, *Romance in Lakewood's Streets* 41; Ivany, "'Birdtown' Became City's Ethnic Center"; and Cynthia A. Ruder, "The Imprint of Cultural Values."

⁶⁵ As Stephan Thernstrom found in Newburyport, however, home ownership came at a high price: "To cut family consumption expenditures to the bone was one such sacrifice. To withdraw the children from school and to put them to work at the age of ten or twelve was another." *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (New York, 1969), 155.

⁶⁶ Federal Population Census Schedules, 1910, Lakewood, Ohio.

⁶⁷ Pankuch, *Dejiny*, 22; Towarnicky, "Slovak Newcomers to America," 66; Towarnicky, "Helping One Another," 67; and Ivany, "'Birdtown' Became City's Ethnic Center."

⁶⁸ Megles, Stolarik, and Tybor, *Slovak Americans and their Communities*, 132; Sts. Peter and Paul Lutheran Church, *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary* (Lakewood, 1976), 3; and Towarnicky, "Helping One Another," 67.

⁶⁹ One of the first Slovak employees recalled that he " 'got a job in the construction of the . . . factory. After I had worked there for a couple days, the boss told me to bring in a couple more men. I asked him how many I should bring; he answered as many as I could, even a dozen would do, he said. So I called up my brothers: Juraj, and Jan, also Jan and Juraj Nemeć, A. Chovana and a bunch of others; Michael Urban and A. Goda all got hired. All the Scerbas; Jan Scerba, Jan Scerba, Jr., Adam Scerba, Andrej Rybanik and many others came in later.' " Andrej Babej, quoted in Pankuch, *Dejiny*, 22.

⁷⁰ Alexander, "The Immigrant Church and Community," 56-57. More importantly she notes that "at times, when firms desperately needed labor, foremen promised jobs to employees' friends or relatives if they would send for them." *Ibid.*, 57.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 57. She also notes that "Slovaks and other immigrant groups came to rely on a system of personal relationships in order to get jobs." *Ibid.* For more recent discussions of this process, see Richard Myer, "Interpersonal Relations in the Building Industry," *Man, Work, and Society*, ed. by Sigmund Nosow and William Form (New York, 1962) and William Kornblum, *Blue Collar Community* (Chicago, 1974).

⁷² Sts. Peter and Paul Lutheran Church, *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary*, 2-3; Megles, Stolarik, and Tybor, *Slovak Americans and their Communities*, 133; Peter M. Glevna, Sr., "History of SS. Cyril and Methodius Parish," in SS. Cyril and Methodius Church, *Diamond Jubilee*, 33; "Sts. Peter and Paul Russian Orthodox Church," undated newspaper clipping in Margaret Butler, "History of Churches" file, Lakewood Historical Society; "Ukrainian Church Dedication Is Set," undated newspaper clipping in Butler, "History of Churches."

⁷³ Stolarik, "Immigration and Urbanization," 85-97. It is useful to note here that three of the first four Slovak churches in the neighborhood still have services in Slovak, although they have them in English as well.

⁷⁴ Ruder, "Imprint of Cultural Values"; Butler, *Lakewood Story*, 207. In a fine study of Slovak Catholic leaders' attitudes toward public education, Mark Stolarik found they "valued parochial schools above all else . . . worried much more about their children's moral and national upbringing than about social mobility . . . had no use

for public schools . . . (which) 'denationalize our children.' " "Immigration, Education, and the Social Mobility of Slovaks, 1870-1930," in Randall M. Miller and Thomas D. Marzik, eds., *Immigrants and Religion in Urban America* (Philadelphia, 1977), 107, 106. Both Barton and Stolarik report that 60 to 80 percent of Slovak children attended parochial schools. Barton, *Peasants and Strangers*, 145-46; Stolarik, "Immigration and Urbanization," 165-66. The public elementary school in the Bird's Nest had no teachers who could speak Slovak; of those children who did attend, few, if any, spoke English. Ruder, "Imprint of Cultural Values."

- ⁷⁵ The 1930 City Directory includes over 75 businesses (17 local grocers) and 16 professionals and services available to the neighborhood run by local residents (or former residents). Cleveland Directory Company, *Cleveland, Ohio City Directory-1930* (Cleveland, 1930).
- ⁷⁶ Inspector, Building and Loan Association, *22nd Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1912* (Springfield, Ohio, 1913), 165. Orol Building and Loan Co. The founding president and secretary both lived on Plover, while only the treasurer lived outside the immediate neighborhood. He lived, however, just on the other side (north) of Madison Avenue, an area that Slovaks and other migrants expanded into. Pankuch noted that the Savings and Loan was in existence by 1902, so it may well have been operating to help residents long before its official charter in 1911. *Dejiny*, 24.
- ⁷⁷ Cuyahoga County Treasurer's Tax Duplicates and City of Lakewood, Building Permits.
- ⁷⁸ For an excellent discussion on the conflict between "acculturationists and traditionalists," see Howard F. Stein, "An Ethnohistory of Slovak-American Religious and Fraternal Associations: A Study in Cultural Meaning, Group Identity, and Social Institutions," *Slovakia*, 29 (1980-1981), 53-101.
- ⁷⁹ Peter Glovna, as quoted in Ivany, "'Birdtown' Became City's Ethnic Center." Glovna's father moved to the neighborhood in 1893 and was a founder of SS. Cyril and Methodius, while his son lived on Plover for 40 years. Despite his recent move out of the area, he still maintains contacts and serves as parish historian. Glovna, "History of SS. Cyril and Methodius Parish."
- ⁸⁰ "Residents of Birdtown also enjoyed neighborhood picnics and dancing to the sounds of bands which were set up on Magee and Madison Avenues." Ivany, "'Birdtown' Became City's Ethnic Center."
- ⁸¹ Ruder, "Imprint of Cultural Values," 5. See also Ivany, "'Birdtown' Became City's Ethnic Center," and 1941 survey quoted extensively in Butler, *Lakewood Story*, 229.
- ⁸² Ruder, "Imprint of Cultural Values," 18.
- ⁸³ Alexander's comment cited earlier that Slovaks came to rely on a system of personal relationships in order to get jobs (see note 70) needs to be put in a large context here. Social scientists have noted the importance of informal groups in a variety of settings from factory, army, street corner gang, and neighborhood. For example, see F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939); Samuel A. Stoffer, et. al., *The American Soldier: Studies in Social Psychology*

in *World War II*, 2 vols (Princeton, N.J., 1949); Edward Shils, "Primary Groups in the American Army," in Robert Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld, eds., *Studies in the Scope and Method of the "The American Soldier"* (Glenoce, Ill., 1951); W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community* (New Haven, Conn., 1941); William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago, 1943); and Kornblum, *Blue Collar Community*.

⁸⁴ Butler, *Lakewood Story*, 228, 188; *Cleveland Press*, May 13, 1947; and Ruder, "Imprint of Cultural Values," 1, 3, 18.

⁸⁵ An important part of the process, of course, involved competition for housing with other groups, a restricted housing market accessible to migrants and their work.

⁸⁶ Many former residents of the neighborhood return at least once a week for religious services on Sunday; many do so more often. See also Wrobel, *Our Way*.

⁸⁷ Robert Park observed that "certain urban neighborhoods suffer from isolation." "The City," in Park and Burgess, *The City*, 8. For a different view, see Alfred Kazin, *A Walker in the City* (New York, 1951).

⁸⁸ The persistence of these areas, outliving in some cases the institutions that came after them, attests to their vitality.

⁸⁹ In the Bird's Nest the continuing presence of churches of each ethnic group suggests the continuing vitality of each group. For other examples, see Cybriwsky, "Social Aspects of Neighborhood Change"; Cybriwsky and David Ley, "Urban Graffiti as Territorial Markers," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 64 (1974), 475-505; and Kornblum, *Blue Collar Community*. Some older studies infer the same conclusions: Helen L. Wilson and Eunice W. Smith, "Chicago Housing Conditions, VIII: Among the Slovaks in the Twentieth Ward," *American Journal of Sociology*, 20 (September, 1914), 145-69; Emily W. Dinwiddie, *Housing Conditions in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1904); Janet Kemp, *Report of the Tenement House Commission of Louisville* (Louisville, 1909); Ulf Hannerz, *Soulside* (New York, 1969); and Whyte, *Street Corner Society*.

⁹⁰ See Claude Fischer, *The Urban Experience* (New York, 1976). In his more recent study, Fischer has found the current city "a mosaic of intense ethnic worlds rather than . . . a landscape of ethnic disintegration." Moreover, "urbanism — or at least the concentration of specific ethnic groups — more often bolsters than breaks down ethnicity. As the urbanism of the community increased, respondents were more likely to be 'ethnics.'" *To Dwell Among Friends*, 204, 206.

⁹¹ For example, Hamtramck is an extreme case where Polish-Americans developed their own community on a massive scale. In 1950, 70 percent of the 44,000 residents of this independent community in Detroit were of Polish-American ancestry. Arthur Evans Wood, *Hamtramck: A Sociological Study of a Polish-American Community* (New Haven, Conn., 1955), 13-28.

⁹² Fischer, *To Dwell Among Friends*, 207. See also Peter Rose, *Strangers in Their Midst: Small Town Jews and Their Neighbors* (Merrick, New York, 1977).

⁹³ See note 23.

TABLE 1
Bird's Nest Population 1900-1940

	1900*	1910**	1920 ±	1930†	1940#
Population	429	2,186	4,145	3,729	3,125

*Manuscript Census-Federal Population Census Schedules, 1900 Lakewood, Ohio.

**Manuscript Census-Federal Population Census Schedules, 1910 Lakewood, Ohio.

± Federal Population Census Schedules, 1920 Lakewood, Ohio for census tract LW18. Unfortunately, the census tract leaves out one side of one street in the neighborhood.

†Federal Population Census Schedules, 1930 Lakewood, Ohio for census tract LW18. Unfortunately, the census tract leaves out one side of one street in the neighborhood.

#Bureau of the Census, *Population and Housing — 1940: Cleveland, Ohio and Adjacent Area* (Washington, 1942), 106. Unfortunately, the census tract leaves out one side of one street in the neighborhood.

TABLE 2
Occupations of Alley Dwellers 1880
Federal Population Census Schedules, 1880.
Washington, D.C. Record Group 29. National Archives

Occupations, 1880*

Adult Males (16 or older)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Unskilled	1,641	59
Service	251	9
Semi-skilled	318	12
Skilled	233	8
White-collar	50	2
Proprietor (and self-employed)	112	4
Professional	28	1
Agriculture/Fishing	17	1
None	124	4
TOTAL	2,774	100

Adult Females (16 or older)

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Unskilled	4	—
Service	1,742	49
Semi-skilled	70	2
Skilled	6	—
White-collar	10	—
Proprietor	8	—
None (includes "at home," "keeping house," and "at school")	1,780	49
TOTAL	3,620	100

*The substantial numbers of alley dwellers in skilled through professional activities is the result of a classification system that is markedly different from the ones generally used. It was used here to detect "class" differences within the alley population. Thus, barbers are classified as skilled, while a number of "proprietors" are, in fact, junkmen. Virtually all the adult alley population should fall in the unskilled, service, or semi-skilled areas. See Borchert, *Alley Life*, 306-08.

TABLE 3
Occupations of Residents of the Bird's Nest 1900

A. Adult Males — 15 years of age or older.

Occupation	Number	Percent
Unskilled	147	92%
Service	3	2
Semi-skilled	0	
Skilled	5	3
White-collar	0	
Proprietor	2	1
Professional	0	
Agricultural	3	2
Total	160	100%

B. Adult Women — 15 years of age or older.

Occupation	Number	Percent
Unskilled	2	50%
Service	2	50%
Semi-skilled	0	
Skilled	0	
White-collar	0	
Proprietor	0	
Agricultural	0	
Total	4	100%

TABLE 3
Occupations of Residents of the Bird's Nest 1910

A. Adult Males — 15 years of age or older.

Occupation	Number	Percent
Unskilled	791	84%
Service	19	2
Semi-skilled	38	4
Skilled	78	8
White-collar	10	1
Proprietor	11	1
Professional	1	
Agricultural	1	
Total	949	100%

B. Adult Women — 15 years of age or older.

Occupation	Number	Percent
Unskilled	75	66%
Service	33	29%
Semi-skilled	0	
Skilled	4	4
White-collar	1	1
Proprietor	0	
Professional	0	
Agricultural	0	
Total	113	100%

TABLE 3
Occupations of Residents of the Bird's Nest 1940

Occupations	Number	Percent
Occupations not reported	2	
Unskilled	184	17%
Service workers	83	8
Domestic service workers	98	9
Operatives and kindred workers	478	44
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	105	10
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	96	9
Proprietors, managers, and officials	29	3
Semi-professional	4	
Professional	13	
Total	1,092	100%

Bureau of the Census, *Population and Housing — 1940: Cleveland, Ohio and Adjacent Area* (Washington, 1942), 106. Census tract leaves out one side of one street of neighborhood.

The Matica slovenská and Its Relation to the Development of Slovak Literature*

Norma L. Rudinsky

The distinctively Slavic institution of the *matica* can perhaps be best described as a national library, publishing house, university, scientific institute, academy of scholars, and nationalistic missionary society — all in one. The earliest examples — the Matica srbská founded in 1826, Matica česká in 1831, and Matica moravská in 1836 — were like the later Matica slovenská, founded in Turčiansky Svätý Martin on August 4, 1863, in playing an important role in literary development.¹ But the Slovak Matica assumed a special significance because of the much more desolate circumstances of the Slovaks in Hungary. This difference makes a particularly interesting study not only of the Slavic *matica* movement but also of the special place of literature in Slovak intellectual history.

In speaking of the relation of the Matica slovenská to Slovak literature, one has to distinguish between the effect of the actual institute as it existed (from its founding in 1863 to its closure by Magyar authorities in 1875 and since its reopening in 1919) and the effect of the spiritual/psychological or symbolic nature of the Matica even when it did not exist, i.e., 1875-1919, and in a certain sense when it was “only” a national library without a membership base, from 1951 to 1968. One also has to consider the symbolic meaning whenever a Matica was established outside Slovakia, as has happened several times.

* This is a revised version of a paper presented at the panel “The Matica slovenská: 120 Years of Survival” sponsored by the Slovak Studies Association during the Fifteenth National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies held in Kansas City, Missouri in October 1983.

It is also necessary to distinguish the direct effects of the Matica from its indirect effects, that is, from all its general educational results, such as greater literacy and a higher cultural level that came from activities like publishing almanacs, setting up amateur theatricals, or dignifying folk literature by collecting and reciting it. By all such results the Matica contributed to the development of a social and intellectual environment in which Slovak literature could arise. Literary works are always a response of an artist to a particular time and place; the general activities of the Matica provided a stimulus to literary talent and helped to secure an audience for that talent. But having mentioned this indirect effect, I shall confine myself to the direct effects of the Matica on Slovak literature, and first to those that occurred while the Matica actually existed.

The special relation of the Matica to both language and literature is indicated in the list of presidents and directors. The office of president (*predseda*), which until 1945 was an honorary position and could be held by two or three people at a time, has had over thirteen occupants; at least four were major writers (Ján Francisci, Pavol Országh-Hviezdoslav, Ladislav Novomeský, and Vladimír Mináč — Novomeský having two terms, before and after his prison sentence), and five were literary historians or at least had strong literary interests (Štefan Moyses, Jozef Kozáček, F.R. Osvald, Jur Janoška, and Marián Blaha). Of the seven directors (*správca*), which is the chief administrative position, one was a major writer (J.C. Hronský) and three were major literary historians (Jaroslav Vlček, Jozef Škultéty, and Ján Marták, who had two terms).² If the secretaries (*tajomník*) are added as major officers, they were all literary figures except František Heřmanský, a linguist, and Jozef Cincák, an artist and art historian: Štefan Krčmáry, Rudolf Klačko, Hronský, Marták, and Stanislav Mečiar.³

It is hard to see much real effect upon literature from the first Matica, even though one of its functions was to publish and distribute literary works. The major Slovak writers of that time were only beginning to write and publish just before the Matica was closed. For example, Hviezdoslav's first poems were published in 1868 but in Skalica, not in Martin, as was also his journal *Napred*. Svetozár Hurban-Vajanský's first book, a collection of poems, came out in 1871 but again in Skalica, not Martin. Elena Maróthy-Šoltésová's first story was published in 1881, and Martin Kukučín's first story appeared in 1882 when the Matica

was closed. In fact, probably the only really significant literary work during the time of the first Matica was the collection and preservation of folk literature, the two-volume collection *Sborník slovenských národných piesní, povestí, prísloví, porekadiel, hádok, hier, obyčajov a povier* in 1870 and 1874, the second volume of which was edited by Pavol Dobšinský. This work was, of course, very important in the establishment of Slovak folk literature as well as ethnography. Otherwise, however, the twelve issues of the annual publication *Letopis Matice slovenskej* and the 44 books published by the Matica carried some literary history but primarily in relation to language, not literature.⁴

After the Matica was reopened in 1919, its first official literary division was the Literary History Department (Literárnohistorický odbor MS), which was formed on May 11, 1922 by separating the history of literature section (historickoliterárna sekcia) from the History Department (Historický odbor MS). The latter had been established at the second general assembly of the Matica in August, 1920. The first officers of the Literary History Department were Jaroslav Vlček as president, Albert Pražák as vice-president, and Štefan Krčméry as secretary,⁵ and they gave the department its basic tone for the next decade. The Department was enlarged in February, 1925 by adding to it many writers from the literary section of the Arts Department (Umelecký odbor MS), and its name was changed to the Literary and Literary History Department (Literárny a literárnohistorický odbor MS). But the old name was taken again the next year, and it remained the Literárnohistorický odbor⁶ until it was ended in 1953, when its work was taken over by several institutes, such as the Literárny archív MS and the Institute of Slovak Literature in the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Ústav slovenskej literatúry SAV) in Bratislava.⁷ This name, in fact, indicated its main function: it collected manuscripts bio-bibliographies, memoris, and the like.⁸ One of its first activities was to collect and publish Vlček's history of Slovak literature in 1923, and it contributed to the *Sborník Matice slovenskej pre jazykospyt, národopis, dejepis a literárnu historiu*, which, however, even though edited first by Vlček, then by Škultéty, in its first decade contained much more on ethnography and language than on literature.⁹ Also, much of the work done then depended upon Czech scholars who — like Vlček himself, Pražák, and Flora Kleinschnitzová — treated Slovak literature as a branch of Czech literature, which affected their research goals and interests.

It has been said by Lubomír Ďurovič that although the first Czechoslovak Republic *de jure* challenged the existence of the Slovak nation by the official theory of the “Czechoslovak nation,” it *de facto* saved the nation by means of the great opportunities it provided compared to the Hungarian period.¹⁰ This can be seen very clearly in the changes that occurred in the Matica after 1930 when a new generation of Slovak scholars had been trained whose chief interest was in Slovak, not Czech, culture and who wanted to consider its specificity and its relation to other Slavic cultures, not to Czech culture alone. In 1935 the *Sborník* was divided into specialized parts with individual editors: Ľudovít Novák edited the language section and Stanislav Mečiar the literary section. The arrival of such a literary scholar as Andrej Mráz in 1930 meant, therefore, a change in emphasis not only from *národopis* or ethnography to literature, but also from bio-bibliographical works to critical and evaluative studies and monographs on individual authors, such as Janko Kráľ, Ján Kalinčiak, Samo Chalupka, and Ivan Krasko.¹¹ In addition, several foreign Slavists, such as the Russian Dmitri Čiževskij and the Pole Wladyslaw Bobek, contributed to the *Sborník* several comparative studies relating Slovak literature to the general stream of Slavic literatures and in important respects changing the interpretation and periodization of Vlček, which had been followed also by Albert Pražák in the dozen or more works on Slovak literature he published in the Matica in the 1920s and after 1932 in the Učená spoločnosť Šafárikova. In fact, it is interesting that the first effort to determine a real periodization of Slovak literature in itself, not in terms of the periodization of Czech literature as Vlček and Pražák had done, was made by the Pole Bobek in 1937; little work was done again on the periodization of early Slovak literature until the Marxist historians did it in 1958 in the first volume of the Academy of Sciences literary history.¹² Apart from literary history, however, there was really little formal esthetic analysis or study of the theory of literature. The major exception (and it is truly major) was the publication in 1939 of the book *Vývin slovenského verša od školy Štúrovej* by the Russian-born formalist and structuralist Mikuláš Bakoš, who developed a more modern esthetic analysis than anyone else had done. According to Pavol Števček, it has “remained a book of cardinal importance” to this day.¹³

The *Sborník* was not the only literary journal published by the Matica, however. More important was *Slovenské pohľady*, which has

been, and still is, a sort of microcosm of Slovak cultural life since it was founded by Jozef Miloslav Hurban in 1846. Hurban's purpose in starting the periodical was "to apply consistently in Slovak cultural life the principles of science and criticism."¹⁴ In the first six years of its existence (1846-52), it reflected the major events of Slovak intellectual life — including Hurban's defense of Štúr's language codification in 1846. Although halted by the censors and by financial difficulties in 1852, it was resumed in Martin in 1881 and continued with first Vajanský as editor, then Jozef Škultéty publishing and editing it until 1919. In 1921 the Matica started it up again under the editorship of Štefan Krčmér, and it remained a monthly published by the Matica until 1953, when it was taken over by the Slovak Writers' Union, whose organ it is today. In the Matica period, it was edited by Krčmér until illness forced his retirement in 1932, then Andrej Mráz until 1938, and Stanislav Mečiar until 1945; with a few exceptions in that period everyone published there: nationalists, internationalists, Catholics, Lutherans, Communists, realists, surrealists, social realists.¹⁵ Unlike the *Sborník*, *Slovenské pohľady* always carried original works of literature — poetry and stories — as well as literary history and criticism. Thus it contributed to the growth of literature itself, not just to literary criticism.

Besides these two journals, however, the Literary History Department supported literature in another way: by republishing the "classics" in collected editions, including all the works of Hviezdoslav, Vajanský, Kukučín, Timrava, the Štúr school, and also contemporary writers, such as Janko Jesenský, Hronský, and Martin Rázus.¹⁶ Unfortunately, these editions of the classics were not usually prepared according to consistent, modern editorial principles, either in selection and arrangement of the material or in linguistic and textual standards. Škultéty, Mráz, and Mečiar each followed his own editorial system, and editorial assistants acted even more freely. Numerous living authors complained about their treatment, and this was true after World War II as well as during and before.¹⁷

Furthermore, the Matica did not always select for publication the best current works. It showed no interest in Kukučín's *Mat' volá* (1926-27), published by G.A. Bežo in Trnava, nor did it issue Milo Urban's *Živý bič* (Prague, 1927), which is generally rated as by far the best Slovak novel published in the 1920s. But this can be regarded as a sign of the times: In its early period the Matica could be in contact

with almost everything, but as Slovak opportunities grew geometrically with education and the other new advantages, the Matica and Martin could not hold everything in their own hands, and other literary centers were developing. Bratislava became the major competitor, not only because of the professors at the University, but also because of the newly-established Slovak Academy of Sciences and Arts (Slovenská akadémia vied a umení) in 1942, which eventually developed into the current Slovenská akadémia vied. In fact, organizational changes in the Matica also became necessary to meet the increasingly specialized growth of knowledge itself in the second half of the twentieth century.¹⁸

The changes in the Matica that occurred after World War II have to be seen in this context: No organization could continue as the sole cultural and scientific institution, as the arts and social sciences became much too complex to be governed in a single organization, especially an institute far away from the capital city, the chief metropolis, and the seat of the main university system. Major changes would have occurred even without the Communist takeover in 1948 or the Marxist-Leninist theories of internationalism and the leading role of the Party — all of which tended to diminish the importance of the Matica. When the law of 1954 reduced the Matica to the single function of a national library and bibliographic institute, I think the fact that it kept exactly its literary relations — its archival, bibliographic, library, and museum activities — is not at all surprising and indicated its basic function from the beginning. But with this point, we are faced with the symbolic meaning, the psychological/spiritual effect, of the Matica slovenská apart from its physical existence.

This brings us to the second kind of effect upon literature the Matica has had. In the extreme Magyar persecution at the time of the Matica's early life, it became a sort of guardian and protector of the Slovak nation, which specifically came to mean the guardian of Slovak self-expression, of literature and language. Historians have recognized and shown how closely the Slovak sense of identity, the sense of self, is tied to language; Peter Brock, for example, has called the Slovaks a “cultural-linguistic nation.”¹⁹ The Matica was literally the defender in the battle with Czech linguists over the *Pravidlá*, and in the gathering of signatures of 128 writers — essentially all the practicing writers of the time — on a petition to request revision of the *Pravidlá*, Slovaks were completely united on the language issue. The petition caused such bad feelings on

confessional and political grounds between “Czechoslovaks” and “Slovaks” that the Catholic J.C. Hronský (who had collected the signatures) and the Lutheran Elena Maróthy-Šoltésová published a soothing joint letter in *Národné noviny*. But there was no disagreement on the language issue itself.²⁰ This need to defend the Slovak language stopped after the period of the Slovak Republic and Czech acceptance of Slovak individuality in the Košice Program of 1945, and the linguistic “purism” stopped when it was no longer needed as a defense.²¹ Although Slovak language and literature did not still have to be protected as such, the Literárny archív and the Literárnomúzejné oddelenie were continuing the guardianship of the past, as allowed by the law of 1954.

Such a narrow view of the Matica as guardian, however, is apparently not sufficient to satisfy the Slovak image of the Matica, because demands were made for a change in the liberal 1960s, especially at the hundred-year jubilee in 1963. The restrictive law of 1954 was replaced by the law of 1968, which restored the Matica’s membership base, gave it a biographical department, and made it responsible for cultural relations with foreigners of Slovak ancestry. The insults of President Antonín Novotný against the Matica were taken by Slovaks as insults against the whole nation and used by the liberals (Czech as well as Slovak) in 1968-69 both to remove Novotný from office and to improve the status of the Matica. The book published then, *Z vôle ľudu obnovená*, expresses this continuing view of the Matica as a response to the people’s need.²² Clearly, the historical and the current concept of the Matica includes its ability to propagate (not only to preserve) among Slovaks their sense of identity in their language and literature.

This mission can be seen in another way. I have said that one also has to consider the psychological effect of the Matica as a moveable institute that can be established by Slovaks outside Slovakia. This first occurred in 1893 when the “Matica slovenská in America” was founded in Chicago by American Slovaks centered around the Reverend Štefan Furdek’s *Jednota* and Gustáv Maršall-Petrovský’s *Slovák v Amerike*. It published several works before it dissolved in 1897, including a literary journal similar to *Slovenské pohľady*.²³ A “Matica slovenská in Yugoslavia” was established in 1932 in Petrovec, near Novi Sad, where a large and compact group of Slovaks had lived for two hundred years; it lasted until 1948. The Zahraničná Matica Slovenská, founded by Stanislav Mečiar and J.C. Hronský after World War II in Argentina,

with collaborators in the United States and Canada, still exists. In all three examples, the literary activity (both planned and actually carried out) followed the traditional lines of Matica activity. For example, Mečiar collected and published material on Martin Kukučín while he lived in Chile and also reprinted and analyzed certain works by J.C. Hronský.²⁴

Even while the Matica was closed from 1875 to 1919, it seemed to produce various alternatives to fill its place. For example, the women's organization Živena was founded in 1869, but it was not closed by Magyar officials since it was just a women's organization, and therefore was presumably insignificant. Its annual meeting occurred in August because it had been founded at the Matica general assembly, so the August meetings of Živena became a substitute for the banned August general assembly of the Matica.²⁵ Živena also developed a publishing program and an almanach, *Letopis Živeny*, to fill the gap left by the closed Matica. This substitution became possible because the Slovak women's movement was primarily an arm of the national movement rather than a genuine feminist drive. In part this was true because the Slovak nationalists, such as Ambro Pietor, were instigators in founding the women's organization; they were looking for help in the struggle against Magyar domination. But it was also true because the leader of the women's movement soon became Elena Maróthy-Šoltésová, daughter of a poet of the Štúr school, and more of a nationalist herself than a feminist in her own fiction (unlike the fiction of Timrava, which was more nearly feminist).²⁶ Therefore, I think the work of Živena can be said to belong to the Matica tradition. In the same period, but outside Turčiansky Svätý Martin, other nationalist centers began to develop among Roman Catholics, such as the Spolok sv. Vojtecha in Trnava. In addition, Karol Salva's press in Ružomberok began to compete with the Matica, as did the journal *Dennica*, edited by Terézia Vansová in Pila.²⁷

In referring to physical effects as opposed to symbolic effects, or *maticas* abroad and alternative institutions, it is clear that I am considering a movement rather than only the major institute that movement produced. The Matica movement was and is bigger than the institute itself, and in fact has spread, I think, much farther and deeper in Slovak literary life than the institute itself indicates. For example, one can see evidence of the identification of Slovak selfhood with literature in the theory of comparativistics of Dionýz Ďurišin in the Institute of

Literature of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and also in the analysis of specifically Slovak elements in lyricized prose by Ján Števček of Comenius University.²⁸ I do not think it is stretching the point too much to say there is something distinctively Slovak about the ambitious attempt of the "Nitra School" of literary theory to utilize and adapt concepts from Czech and Polish structuralism and the Tartu semioticians to create what Edward Mozejko has called "the introduction of a new discipline — the poetics of metatexts . . . a universal metalanguage of art . . . the investigation of so-called intersemiotic translation . . . a new communicative poetics of literature and art."²⁹

To conclude, therefore, the Matica slovenská as an institute resulted from the particular political situation of the Slovaks in Hungary, but it continued and has been periodically renewed because it is a symbol and a symptom of the historical Slovak self-identification with its language and literature.

NOTES

¹ Stanley B. Kimball, "The Serbian *Matica* — Prototype of Austro-Slav Literary Foundations: The First Fifty Years 1826-76," *East European Quarterly*, III (September 1969), 353-70; Peter Herrity, "The Role of the *Matica* and Similar Societies in the Development of the Slavonic Literary Languages," *Slavonic and East European Review*, LI (July 1973), 368-386.

² John A. Berta helped to compile this list; see also his "The Matica slovenská and Its Role in Slovak Cultural Development, 1919-1939" (Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY Binghamton, 1983).

³ "Matica slovenská," *Encyklopédia Slovenska*, Vol. III (Bratislava: SAV, 1979).

⁴ Peter Liba, *Vydavateľské dielo Matice slovenskej 1863-1954* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1962).

⁵ Tomáš Winkler, *Matica slovenská v rokoch 1919-1945: z problémov a dokumentov ústredia MS* (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1971), p. 149.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁷ "Literárnovedný ústav Slovenskej akadémie vied," *Encyklopédia Slovenska*, Vol. III.

⁸ Winkler, pp. 150-53.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-53.

¹⁰ L'ubomír Ďurovič, "Slovak," in *The Slavic Literary Languages: Formation and Development*, eds. A.M. Schenker and E. Stankiewicz (New Haven: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1980), p. 222. Owen V. Johnson has shown to what extent an education class developed in this period in his "The slovak Intelligentsia 1918-1938" in *Russian and Slavic History*, ed. D.K. Rowney and G.E. Orchard (Columbus: Slavica Publishers, Inc., 1977), and also in his Ph.D. dissertation, "Sociocultural and National Development in Slovakia, 1918-1938: Education and Its Impact" (University of Michigan, 1978).

¹¹ Winkler, pp. 153-55.

¹² Ján Mišianik, "Úvodom," *Dejiny staršej slovenskej literatúry*, eds. Ján Mišianik, Jozef Minárik, Milena Michalcová, and Andrej Melicherčík, Vol. I (Bratislava: SAV, 1958), 5-6. The introduction is dated December 30, 1956. See also Winkler, p. 155.

¹³ Pavol Števček, *Contemporary Slovak Literature* (Bratislava: Obzor, 1980), p. 119; Števček says Bakoš was the "founder of literary theory." See also Winkler, p. 156.

¹⁴ Victor Kochol, in *Dejiny slovenskej literatúry: Literatúra národného obrodenia*, eds. Milan Pišut, Karol Rosenbaum, Victor Kochol, Vol. II (Bratislava: SAV, 1960), pp. 466-67: "Hurban chcel v slovenskom kultúrnom živote dôsledne uplatnovat' princípy vedeckosti a kritickosti. . . ."

¹⁵ Winkler, pp. 157-59. See also Vladimír Petrík, "Slovenské pohľady 1922-1938," *Slovenské pohľady*, No. 7 (1964), 8-14, and Jozef Bzoch, "Slovenské pohľady 1939-1944," *Slovenské pohľady*, No. 8 (1964), 6-9.

¹⁶ See Liba, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ E.G., Ivan Kusý, ed., *Timrava: Zobrané spisy*, II (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatúry, 1956), 287-88, and especially Marianna Pridávková-Mináriková, *Textologické a štýlistické problémy Kukučínovho diela* (Bratislava: SAV, 1972), pp. 5, 13, 15, and *passim*.

¹⁸ In 1935, for example, the linguist Ľudovít Novák argued for changes in the Matica to provide greater financial support and to bring scientific freedom from political changes (Winkler, pp. 29-30 and 110-12); in fact, the Jazykovedný odbor had such extreme organizational disagreements among its members (especially Novák and Henrich Bartek) that once (1936) Hronský wanted to resign and later (1941) the *odbor* was on the verge of being dissolved (see Winkler, pp. 30 and 131-32). On SAVU and SAV, see *Slovenská akadémia vied* (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1969).

¹⁹ Peter Brock, *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. ix. Brock uses as a motto Hans Kohn's statement: "In Central and Eastern Europe it was the poet, the philologist, and the historian who created the nationalities."

²⁰ Elena Maróthy-Šoltésová and J.C. Hronský, "Slovenskej verejnosti. Vysvetlenie vo veci podpisov pre návrh slov. spisovateľov," *Národné noviny*, May 1932, p. 2. On the *Pravidlá*, see Ďurovič, pp. 222-25, and Robert Auty, "The Role of Purism in the Development of the Slavonic Literary Languages," *Slavonic Review*, LI (July 1973), 335-43.

²¹ Ďurovič, pp. 225-26.

²² *Z vôle ľudu obnovená*, eds. Ivan Geguš and Miloš Kovačka (Martin: Matica slovenská, 1968 — actually 1969), pp. 6-9 and *passim*. Novotný's petty and tasteless behavior is outlined here also.

²³ "Matica slovenská v Amerike" and "Matica slovenská v Juhoslávii," *Encyklopédia Slovenska*, Vol. III. On the American Matica, see also Konštantín Čulen, *Slovenské časopisy v Amerike* (Cleveland: Prvá katolícka slovenská jednota, 1970), pp. 19-21, 52-53, 70-71.

²⁴ Stanislav Mečiar, *Kukučín živý*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Knižnica Slobodná Slovenská Kultúra, 1958 and 1960) — strictly speaking these books were not published by the Matica but within that tradition; J.C. Hronský, *Pohar z brúseného skla*, ed. S. Mečiar (Buenos Aires: Zahraničná Matica Slovenská, 1964), and *Na križných cestách*, ed. S. Mečiar (Buenos Aires: Zahraničná Matica Slovenská, 1966).

²⁵ Štefana Votrubová, *Živena. Jej osudy a práca* (Martin: Živena, 1931), pp. 22-23; see also Jarmila Tkadlečková-Vantuchová, *Živena-Spolok slovenských žien* (Bratislava: Epochá, 1969).

²⁶ See the comparison in *An Incipient Feminist: Slovak Stories by Timrava*, edited and translated by Norma Leigh Rudinsky (Columbus: Slavica Publishers, Inc., in prep.).

²⁷ Ján Tibenský, ed., *Slovensko: dejiny* (Bratislava: Obzor, 1971), p. 543.

²⁸ Dionýz Ďurišin, *Problémy literárnej komparatistiky* (Bratislava: SAV, 1967), and *Z dejín a teórie literárnej komparatistiky* (Bratislava: SAV, 1970); Ján Števček, *Nezbadané prózy* (Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1971), and *Lyrizovaná próza* (Bratislava: Tatran, 1973).

²⁹ Edward Mozejko, "Survey: Slovak Theory of Literary Communication: Notes on the Nitra School of Literary Criticism," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature*, 4 (1979), 371-84.

The Modernization of Slovakia: The Role of Vocational High Schools, 1918-1938

Owen V. Johnson

Most of the modern nations and nationalities in Eastern Europe began as cultural movements. Writers and teachers were among their earliest leaders. As these movements grew in size, they turned into political movements, with lawyers playing increasingly important roles.¹ Most of the research on East European national development has focused on these changes. None of these developing nations could long survive, however, without an adequate industrial, commercial, and modern agricultural base. Such development has been the thread of continuity in twentieth-century Eastern Europe behind the facade of radical political change.

This article examines the basis of economic change which was laid down in three types of secondary schools in interwar Slovakia, the commercial academies, and the industrial and agricultural high schools. That they were not a top priority of the new Czechoslovak government is indicated by the fact that none was opened until the fall of 1919, nearly a year after the creation of the new Republic, while the first Slovak *gymnázium* had opened its doors only two weeks after the seizure of power by the new state.

The common tie of these three types of schools was that they were more likely to draw their students from the middle schools, in contrast to the *gymnázium*, which usually admitted students directly from primary schools to its eight-year curriculum. In part this is explained by the fact that these schools attracted a different type of student, one who was interested not in becoming a lawyer, a doctor, or a teacher — those people went to the *gymnáziá* or the teacher training institutions — but the one who wanted to become an “independent entrepreneur.”

Each of these schools will be discussed separately.

Like the other vocational secondary schools, the commercial academies performed a dual function. Their four-year curriculum was designed partially to prepare students to assume responsible positions in business or banking offices (e.g., two foreign languages, including German, were in the curriculum) and partially to prepare those students who wished to study at an institution of higher learning. The course was general, with no provision for specialization.²

Graduates were eligible to study at the *Vysoká obchodná škola* (Commercial College) in Prague, or, effective 1924, after passing the supplementary exam(s) (given in Slovakia only in Bratislava) in Latin and philosophical propedeutika, at the Law Faculty in Brno.³ Beginning in 1934, they were also eligible to attend military officers' school. Graduates who did not go on for further education had the right, after one year's practice, to the "independent management of a business."⁴ Most often, however, they became officials in banking or commerce, or gained employment in the state bureaucracy.⁵

The entrance requirements to these schools were the same as for other vocational schools. The prospective applicant either had to be at least age 14 and have completed four years at a *reálka* or some kind of *gymnázium*, or be a graduate of the middle school, with appropriate grades. Preference was given to applicants with business experience.⁶

Those persons who had passed their *gymnázium maturita* unanimously or with distinction could take a one-year post-graduate course at a commercial academy (one such course was set up at Bratislava); those who had received a "with majority" mark would be accepted only if there was room. *Gymnázium* graduates could also enter the third year of the commercial academy on a tentative basis, having however to take several supplementary exams by Christmas.⁷

The traditional Hungarian disdain for commerce, and hence, for commercial education, left its imprint on public attitudes toward the business academies. When the Bratislava Commercial Academy opened for business in the fall of 1919, nearly a third of the regularly enrolled students were Czechs. Czechs were in the majority at the attached post-graduate course.⁸

It took time to overcome the negative attitudes, time for these schools to demonstrate their worth. As a chronicler at the Košice Commercial Academy noted, the school "overcomes the mistaken tradition in the

Slovak people that only the high school, specifically the *gymnázium* and not a commercial school, can insure the Slovak son or daughter a regular functional education.⁹ In those early years, it was often necessary to personally convince the parents of prospective students of the value of the commercial education.

One means of persuasion was money in the form of scholarships. In the early years, however, state aid was not very generous, about one grant per school.¹⁰ It appears that the total amount of support rose significantly beginning with the 1928/29 school year. An increasingly important source was the regional Slovak government. Overall, government assistance for the commercial academies generally is a carbon copy of the assistance to the *gymnáziá*.

The old Hungarian schools operated uninterrupted through the 1918/9 school year. By the following fall, two schools had been closed, at Humenné and Revúca, for lack of students; the rest were taken over by the state. Because there were no Slovaks qualified to teach in this field, Czechs were brought in to serve as both professors and principals. The old three-year pattern of instruction was continued until the passage of a new law on February 15, 1922, which formally established four-year academies at Bratislava, Košice, and Martin. By fall, a fourth academy was opened at Banská Bystrica. The close proximity of the last two named schools soon led to an apparent superfluity of places, and the school at Martin was forced to close, doing so one grade at a time, beginning in 1923/4.¹¹ The postwar recession and the deindustrialization of Slovakia which accompanied it, coupled with an essentially rural population, were surely the major causes. They discouraged parents who might otherwise have thought of enrolling their children.¹²

The recovery which soon followed led to a new interest in this type of school, leading to the establishment of an institution at Nitra in 1926/7 — considered a replacement for Martin — and at Trenčín and (once again) Martin in 1927/8. Job offers were now two or three times higher than the number of graduates.¹³ Although the Depression forestalled the establishment of any additional schools for nearly a decade, the number of students continued to rise steadily, except for a slight fall occasioned by the coming of age of the tiny World War I generation. In common with the expansion in the number of *gymnáziá* just before the outbreak of World War II, a commercial academy was set up at Humenné in the 1937/8 school year, where there had once been a Hungarian school.

The importance of the government's role in fostering commercial education is demonstrated by the fact that all of the commercial academies in Slovakia were state institutions. Only two of the approximately thirty other schools in the Republic were owned and operated by the state.

The commercial academies had a reputation of quality both at home and abroad because they enrolled a highly select group of students chosen from among many applicants. The teachers were highly qualified, attracted by high pay. Even teachers of general educational subjects earned more than they would in a *gymnázium* or a *reálka*. The only additional requirement was that they needed to have some minimal knowledge of business.¹⁴ The curriculum was evenly divided between subjects of general instruction (with a heavy dose of languages) and business subjects.

Strictly speaking, study at the commercial academies did not end with a *maturita* exam.¹⁵ Even though the examination was optional, most students took it because it was necessary for admission to the university, and it could mean a higher position or rate of pay on many jobs. (It should be noted that a higher percentage of commercial academy students went on for additional studies than did students from the industrial high schools.)¹⁶

In an effort to encourage students to go into business for themselves upon graduation rather than taking up an administration job, the commercial academies developed a program in which students would spend their summers working in various shops. Local banks, district and county governments, and chambers of commerce raised the money to pay the students for the experience. The Depression forced a cutback in the program. There is no evidence that the program achieved its goal.¹⁷

Like the industrial high schools, the commercial academies actually were only the anchors of larger educational institutions. In all cases, there was a two-year business school attached. According to Cverčko, "Students showed a preference for the two-year business schools because they provided educational opportunities for students from the poorer families and for young women who desired employment in offices."¹⁸ In some instances, these business schools, when located in places other than at a commercial academy, themselves served as centers for shorter term business courses.¹⁹ The school at Bratislava was even more complex because it had both Czechoslovak and Hungarian divisions.

Published statistics on the commercial academies normally included data on both the academies and the attached schools, making it more

difficult to study the makeup of the student body of the academies alone. Nevertheless, some observations can be made, especially when the published statewide statistics are considered in conjunction with the analysis of the statistics from the annual reports published by the schools (also see Figure 1 and Table 1).

One of the more interesting aspects is the presence of a slowly increasing number of women in these schools. This contrasts strongly with the industrial high schools. While the postwar recession nearly wipes out an initial female enrollment of better than ten percent, a gradual improvement which began in the mid-twenties continued to the end of the Republic, so that by the 1936/7 school year, more than a fifth of the students were women. The percentage of women graduates, in line with the general trend, was several percent less.

At Nitra, the students were primarily children of white-collar workers, teachers, professors, doctors, lawyers, businessmen, and shopkeepers, in other words, the better situated elements of the society. About one third of the students came from working class families.²⁰

INDUSTRIAL HIGH SCHOOLS

The industrial high school (*priemyselná škola*), with a four-year curriculum, witnessed a slow development over the history of the first Czechoslovak Republic. As was the case with vocational secondary schools in general, there were not very many of them. Anton Štefánek, who as Referent for Education in Slovakia helped established the school system, realized the need for these schools, but recognized the public had little appreciation for them:

It is necessary that Slovaks understand the value of technical, industrial and commercial schools. Yes, secondary schools there must be, *gymnáziá* and *reálky*, but all people cannot be gentlemen with tender hands.²¹

Although several of these institutions had been in existence during Hungarian rule, they were in the larger cities, where the Slovak presence was small. Further, they lacked dormitories, making attendance somewhat difficult for other than city residents.²²

Three Czechoslovak industrial high schools opened in the fall of 1919, with the first graduates emerging in 1923. Two were in Bratislava, a mechanical engineering school (*strojnická*) and a building or

civil engineering school (*staviteľská*), sharing the same facilities. Košice had a dual language engineering school. A chemical high school opened in Banská Štiavnica in 1921, followed by a second building school in Prešov in 1931. The final institution to open its doors was the electrotechnical high school in Banská Bystrica, commencing operations in the fall of 1936. Study at each institution, partially general and partially technical, ended with a *maturita* examination.

The mechanical engineering school was designed to provide "general and professional education, such as needed by managers of smaller engineering firms or factories with engineering systems, or by technical officials." The course lasted four years. Applicants for the school needed to have completed four years of *gymnázium* studies, or middle school plus the one-year supplementary "naukobeh." Students with only three years of *gymnázium* or who had completed middle school education with a grade of at least "good," and who could prove they had at least one year of on-the-job experience, could also be admitted.²³ Preference went to those with practical experience. An entrance exam was required. Like the commercial academies, vocational schools of shorter duration were attached to each industrial high school.

The goals of the other types of industrial high schools were similar — to train the students for skilled managerial and technical jobs, or for university study; the admission requirements were nearly the same, too. The civil engineering high school was designed to provide theoretical and practical instruction for future independent owners of construction firms, especially those dealing in concrete, reinforced concrete, and carpentry, as well as for private or state technical officials.²⁴ Graduates were expected to be able to construct a dwelling.

The chemical high school's aim was the provision of general and specialized education in combination with practical experience for future factory owners, administrators, and factory officials for various chemical plants, such as dye-works, printing, bleach or soap plants, glassworks, fertilizer facilities, etc.²⁵ The electrotechnical school, which had no graduates in its short existence, was also to give both general and specialized instruction combined with practical experience, to owners or managers of machine or electrotechnical factories, or other factories with machine systems, and for technical officials of the larger private or state engineering organizations.²⁶

The graduates of industrial high schools could, after passing a sup-

plementary exam, also study at the technical universities, although few did, both because of the exam, and because, until the fall of 1938, there was no technical university in Slovakia, a fact which also handicapped these schools in their efforts to attract students.²⁷

In the fall of 1934, a transport division was added to the construction high school in Bratislava, the express aim of the change being to facilitate graduate placement, particularly in the medium-sized and small firms.²⁸

The practical nature of the study at the industrial high schools required that no private students be allowed. Forty applicants were to be admitted each year at each school, except for the chemical high school, to which a maximum of thirty were allowed. If an aspiring student passed the entrance examination at a particular school, but was not admitted because of lack of sufficient places, he could seek admission elsewhere in the Republic.²⁹ When the schools opened in the fall of 1919, applicants from Slovakia were few. A call was sent out to the Czech students in the overcrowded industrial high schools of Bohemia and Moravia to come to Slovakia. There were promises of travel and other support, anything to help raise the enrollment.³⁰ Of the 77 students who enrolled at the two schools in Bratislava, 42 were Slovak and 26 were Czech.³¹

The total number of students experienced a steady, but slow climb upward because with the opening of each new school, approximately one class was opened each year (see Figure 2 and Table 2). In 1925, however, the Ministry of Education announced plans to gradually close the chemical high school "because the present conditions in the chemical industry in no way assure the students the fulfillment of the ambitions which lead them to the school." The Ministry of Education (Mšano) backed down, however, and agreed to continue to operate the school, provided first year enrollment reached 20 students.³²

Overall, the number of applications to all the schools was moderate until the mid-thirties, when both the expansion of industry in Slovakia and the imminent opening of the technical university led to an explosion of interest in these schools. At Banská Bystrica, for instance, the number of applications exceeded the number of admissions by 4 or 5 to 1. A similar jump in interest developed in Bratislava about the same time. Earlier, nearly everyone who passed the entrance exam was admitted. (About one-third of the applicants failed the test.)

Although there has been no research on the subject, it is probable

that the limited number of these schools was a hindrance in the expansion of the number of students, not only because there was a limited number of places, but also because students from a large part of the more Slovak areas of Slovakia could attend these schools only if they could afford to pay room and board. The schools themselves did not have their own dormitories, although the two Bratislava schools had access to up to 100 places in the city's Secondary School dormitory.³³

The founding of the electrotechnical school at Banská Bystrica provides some fine examples of the government's general attitudes toward the need for industrial education in Slovakia. The campaign for the establishment of the school was led by the Banská Bystrica City Council and by the Central Slovak Chamber of Commerce. The latter made the initial move in May 1934, urging the city council to join forces. The Chamber pointed out the lack of this particular kind of education in Slovakia. Two months later, the City Council wrote to the Ministry of Education, stressing how the creation of this school would further the development of Slovakia:

The continuing electrification of Slovakia is not yet finished; thus, not only would many jobs in this area await the graduates of the school, but the power-stations in Slovakia have a continuing lack of well-educated Slovaks.³⁴

The Ministry of Education responded the following spring, expressing doubt that there would be a sufficient number of students with the requisite preparatory education, and suggesting doubt that, in view of the economic crisis, the graduates could be placed. The economic upswing which was even then beginning apparently erased all doubts. The flood of applications had proved Prague wrong, at least on a delayed basis.³⁵

With the exception of the chemical high school, very few girls enrolled in the industrial high schools, the total reaching a high of 6 ½ percent in 1929/30 and 1930/1. There is no obvious explanation for the chemical school exception.

Information on scholarship aid is too skimpy to make any judgments.

AGRICULTURAL HIGH SCHOOLS

The two schools known as higher agricultural schools showed the least change of any of the secondary level institutions in Slovakia dur-

ing the interwar Republic. One was the higher agricultural (or farming) school in Košice, founded on the ruins of a prewar college level Hungarian Academy, and the other the higher forestry school in Banská Štiavnica. There also had been a Forestry Academy there, although its building fell to the industrial high school. Both agricultural schools were administered by the Ministry of Agriculture through an inspector of agricultural instruction in Bratislava, one of six such offices in Czechoslovakia.³⁶ The school in Košice was one of more than a dozen higher farming schools in the Republic, that in Banská Štiavnica one of four higher forestry schools (one of three Czechoslovak) in Czechoslovakia.³⁷

Both schools opened in the fall of 1919 and graduated their first classes in the spring of 1923. The faculty consisted almost entirely of Czechs.³⁸

The goal of the Farming School at Košice was the education of “independent agricultural entrepreneurs” as well as officials who could handle agricultural affairs for the government or serve cooperatives in an office capacity.³⁹ The curriculum sought to make of the student an “agricultural intelligent who could learn not to limit himself to that which is generally known, but who would also try to look for new ways and methods; in short, that it kindle and nurture in the young man the skill of application and, as much as possible, initiative.”⁴⁰ Students, of whom 30 were admitted each year, had to be at least 15 years of age, and to have completed either middle school, or the first four years of a *gymnázium*. In addition, boys and girls who had completed the shorter two-year peasant school course with distinction could be admitted. Preference was to be given to those from peasant families who would be farming independently.⁴¹ Originally three years in length, the school was converted to four years in 1920/1 (Ministry of Agriculture 21308/1920). The expanded curriculum permitted an expansion of general education and a deepening of technical subjects, as well as greater emphasis on the practical element of instruction. In addition, new subjects were added to prepare the students better for the modern world, including civics, business, typewriting, the cooperative movement, and milk processing.⁴²

The program of study ended with the *maturita* exam. Graduates, after passing supplementary exams, could study at the College of Agriculture, the College of Veterinary Medicine, Commercial Colleges,

or the Military Academy. A Provincial Institute of Agriculture Research was attached to the school.

Applicants for the higher forestry high school also needed to be 15 years of age, and have completed the lower four years of a *gymnázium*, or a middle school plus the one-year continuation course (*naukobeh*). Preference was given to sons of forestry employees and workers. No women were allowed. All graduates of secondary schools could pass directly into the second year of the school and, if they passed the required examination, advance directly into the third year of study.⁴³

The entering class was at first limited to 30 students, a figure later cut to 20. Only in exceptional cases were students from Bohemia and Moravia to be admitted. They had to be able to prove that a job would be awaiting them upon graduation.⁴⁴ The goal of the school was to provide education for an efficient forest service and for the administration of smaller forest properties or the lumber business and industry and to provide an education corresponding to the general level of advanced secondary education.

The four-year course concluded with *maturita* exams. Graduates could attend the forestry division of the College of Agriculture after completing supplementary exams in language and mathematical subjects.⁴⁵ Those who wished to enter state service directly (which was the rule) were required to pass a state exam in the appropriate field.

There is some irony in the generally held assumption that "through the incorporation of agricultural Slovakia, the Czechoslovak Republic has become nearly self-supporting as regards the supply of agricultural produce,"⁴⁶ yet so little attention was given to developing an advanced system of agricultural education in Slovakia. Part of the answer lies in the small size of so many of the land holdings, which would make further education superfluous. Prior to 1918, these two schools, existing on the level of junior colleges, had turned out officials and employees to manage the great estates of the Hungarian magnates. In fact, interest in attending the Czechoslovak school does not seem to have been overwhelming. For one thing, social attitudes worked against it. One student remembered first enrolling at a teacher training institute, then persuading his father that employment possibilities after graduation from the Farming School would be much better. His mother and sister, however, were appalled by his withdrawal from the teacher training institute, and insisted he go back to it, which he did.⁴⁷ The Referent for Agriculture,

Pavel Blaho, had to take special pains to insure that there were enough students at all in the first years.⁴⁸ The school in Košice had particular trouble attracting Slovak students. In 1920/1, only 7 of 23 first year students were Slovak.⁴⁹ In that same year, only 21 of 48 students at Banská Štiavnica had parents living in Slovakia.⁵⁰ There were more Czechs than Slovaks in the first forestry graduating class.⁵¹ Further discouraging the establishment of more schools was the argument that Slovaks were eligible to attend similar institutions in the Czech lands.

Because these schools were both "one of a kind" they drew students from all over Slovakia. For instance, Košice, in 1929/30, had representatives from more than half the counties of Slovakia.⁵² This made the provision of housing important. Initially, Košice had a dormitory for 45 students. It was replaced in the 1923/24 school year by the Ministry of Agriculture with a building which housed 120. A temporary dormitory was established at Banská Štiavnica in 1920 within the school itself.⁵³ However, once the school had reached its full complement of four classes in the fall of 1922, the need for classrooms forced the dormitory's closing.

Between a half and two-thirds of the students received financial aid, the majority of which, after 1929, came from the regional government in Bratislava. Prior to that time, the counties and districts frequently gave support.⁵⁴ State aid was channeled through the Ministry of Agriculture.⁵⁵ Financial aid on the average was about twice as large for the students in Košice as in Banská Štiavnica.

Total enrollment at the two schools remained constant between 160 and 200 students (see Tables 3 and 4). Girls were eligible to attend the school in Košice, but hardly any did. Between 90 and 95 percent of the enrollment consisted of Czech and Slovak students, with a sprinkling of Ruthenians (particularly in the more accessible Košice), Germans, and Hungarians. The percentage of students who were Catholic initially was very high (88 percent), but by 1925 declined to a level of about 70 percent, at which it remained. The percentage of Lutherans, at first very low, rose to 15-20 percent by 1925. The fact that the Lutheran percentage was slightly higher than in the population as a whole can be attributed largely to the fact that Banská Štiavnica was situated in a more strongly Protestant area. There also were regularly small numbers of Orthodox, Greek Catholic, and Jewish students.

Students at both Banská Štiavnica and Košice tended to be well above the minimum age, with the largest number in the 19-20 year old

range. Those from agricultural families were in the majority at Košice and usually in the minority at Banská Štiavnica. In addition, if from agricultural backgrounds those at Košice were more likely to come from larger landholders.⁵⁶

HIGHER COOPERATIVE AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL

An additional specialized school, the Higher Cooperative Agricultural School, a private institution, was opened in Bratislava in the fall of 1936. The goal of the school's four-semester course was to provide "professional theoretical and practical preparation or development in cooperative consciousness and education for capable cooperative officials and functionaries for Slovakia, as well as for friends of the cooperative idea."⁵⁷ Prior to the opening of the Slovak school, the cooperative officials had been drawn from the graduates of the commercial academies and agricultural schools, as well as from officials of financial institutions. The Central Cooperative Council ran a similar school in Prague, but it was not able to accept all applicants from Slovakia. Stipends for students from Slovakia had been made available on the basis of reciprocity, i.e., service in Slovakia. The Bratislava branch of the Cooperative Council lacked funds as well as a building to start its own school. When the latter problem was solved, the former became available.⁵⁸

Three groups were eligible for admission. The majority were to have completed a high school education, with preference given to graduates of the higher agricultural school in Košice and the commercial academies, as well as those who had cooperative experience. A second group was drawn from those who had completed with success at least the first four years of high school or middle school, and who had also successfully completed agricultural or business school and had at least two years of cooperative experience. This group required entrance exams. A third group, persons not citizens of Czechoslovakia, could be admitted in special cases. The total from the second and third groups was not to exceed 8 places in the class of 24.⁵⁹

In the two years the school was in operation, about half of the 22 students were age 23 and older; they came from many different districts across Slovakia. From a religious standpoint, the Lutherans were over-represented (see Table 5), with 35 percent the first year and 45 percent the second year. The parents of about two-thirds of the students

had agricultural occupations. There is no reference to the sex of the students, although it can be presumed that all were men.⁶⁰

CONCLUSION

It is unavoidable that some of the information presented in this article represents what might be called "microhistory." In it are catalogued various beginnings and small changes. It is because these changes have previously not been recorded in an organized fashion that certain processes of national development in twentieth-century Slovakia have not been properly understood.

It is generally recognized that too few students in developing countries study mathematics or the scientific professions.⁶¹ In many ways, Slovakia was an undeveloped country. Consideration must be given, however, to priorities in national formation. Given the necessity of creating an intelligentsia within a national grouping, the most immediate and most important concern is for an intelligentsia which will be visible to the public. Slovak-speaking lawyers to handle legal and administrative affairs, Slovak-speaking doctors to minister to the public, and Slovak-speaking teachers to teach Slovak culture were far more important at the outset than the development of a technical intelligentsia for developing a Slovak national consciousness.

Certainly the opportunities in the interwar republic to employ the skills gained in the vocational high schools were rather limited for a variety of reasons related to the formation of a new state-system in Eastern Europe. The lack of an adequately trained agricultural, commercial, and industrial intelligentsia became painfully visible during the short-lived existence of the Slovak state (1939-1945). But, if it were not for the modest accomplishments in this field by the so-called bourgeois republic, the rapid growth begun in the Slovak state and continued in the renewed postwar Czechoslovak Republic would not have been so dramatic.

NOTES

¹ This periodization is outlined, among others, by Stanley Z. Pech, "Right, Left, and Centre in Eastern Europe 1869-1940: A cross-National Profile," *Canadian Journal of History*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1981), pp. 237-262.

² For the curriculum of the commercial academy, see *Věstník Ministerstva školství a národní osvěty (Mšano)*, 13, No. 5 (15 May 1931), 181.

³ *Věstník Mšano*, 6, No. 3 (15 March 1924), 100. Philosophical propedeutike consisted of a “. . . synthesis of knowledge from all subjects; acquaintance with the principal methods of philosophic solutions of problems. Thorough realization of the laws of intellectual life and appreciation of the major questions and tasks of philosophy. Survey of the intellectual development of humanity.” Vojtech Andic, “A Comparative Study of Education in Czechoslovakia for the Periods of 1918 to 1938 and 1948 to 1953” (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1954), p. 128.

⁴ Ida Zubácka, “Príspevok k dejinám stredných odborných škôl v Nitre v rokoch 1918-1938,” *Zborník Pedagogickej fakulty v Nitre*, 21 (1973)-Spoločenské vedy-dejepis-zemepis, p. 104.

⁵ “Stručný informační přehled o školství národním, středním a odborném,” *Věstník Mšano*, 6, No. 5 (15 May 1924), 273-4.

⁶ Antonín Boháč, “Padesát let československého školství,” *Pedagogika*, 18, No. 5 (1968), 675.

⁷ *Věstník Mšano*, 7, No. 6 (15 June 1925), 183-4.

⁸ Eduard Weis, “Zpráva statistická o školství v Bratislavě na počátku šk. r. 1919/20 a srovnání dat o školách elementárních s koncem šk. r. 1918/19, 16 December 1919. Fond 7 Minister s plnou mocí pre Slovensku (M/pm), Štátny ústredný archív Slovenskej socialistickej republiky (ŠÚA SSR) Bratislava.

⁹ Yearly Report, Košice Obchodná Akadémia 1919/20-20/1, p. 6.

¹⁰ *Věstník Mšano*, 6, No. 12 (15 December 1924), 592-3.

¹¹ J. Fuksa et al., eds., *Almanach obchodního školství československé republiky 1918-1928* (Prague: Státní nakladatelství, 1938), p. 23.

¹² The *župan* of Spiš doubted his population’s “understanding for the practical education of (its) youth.” His comments cited by M/pm as one of the reasons to deny commercial academy to Kežmarok-M/pm 14634/21 Adm. III of 20 October 1921 in Spišská župa 691/1921 in Štátny archív-Levoča. The principal in Košice had no doubts that the population in that city did not value a commercial education. Yearly Report, 1919/20-20/1, p. 36.

¹³ Yearly Report, Bratislava OA 1928/9, p. 15.

¹⁴ Boháč, “Padesát let,” p. 678.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 675.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Yearly Report, Banská Bystrica OA 1927/8, p. 7; 1928/9, p. 20; 1931/2, p. 9; and 1932/3, p. 11.

¹⁸ Sister M. Joan Cverčko, “Schools of Slovakia: Historical Study of Secondary Technical-Vocational Education 1918-1948” (Unpublished M.A. thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1972), p. 62.

¹⁹ Fuksa, *Almanach*, pp. 125-47, describes in detail the various combinations of schools as they were in 1928.

²⁰ Zubácka, "Príspevok," p. 105.

²¹ Literárny archív Matice slovenskej (LAMS) 42 VIII 23, "Priemyselné a odborné školy v r. 1919/1920," p. 10.

²² Yearly Report, Bratislava Priemyselná škola 1919/20, p. 11.

²³ H. Janus, "Sedemdesiat" rokov priemyselnej školy v Bratislave," *Jednotná škola*, 26, No. 2 (February 1974), 181.

²⁴ Yearly Report, Bratislava Priemyselná škola 1919/20, p. 1.

²⁵ Július Barták, *Vývin lesníckeho školstva na Slovensku v rámci hospodárskych pomerov* (Bratislava: Lesnícka a drevárska ústredňa, 1942), p. 303.

²⁶ Yearly Report, Banská Bystrica Štátnej odborná škola 1936/7, p. 3.

²⁷ Boháč, "Padesát let," p. 675. According to "Stručný," pp. 260-1, no supplementary exam was required; a successful *maturitanc* could study in the technical or mining colleges in the same field he had done his high school work; according to Anton Benda, "Štátnej čsl. priemyselná škola s maďarskymi pobočkami v Košiciach," in A.S. Žitavský, *Pamätník slovenského školstva za učinkovania Prezidenta T.G. Masaryka* (Bratislava: Vydatel'stvo pamätníka Slovenského školstva, (1936-7), Vol. I, p. 177, "at least one" a year from his school went on for university level study.

²⁸ Janus, "Sedemdesiat," p. 182. Similar reasoning underlay the creation of a post-graduate electrotechnical course at Bratislava in 1931/2, although the course seems only to have existed for a year. Yearly Report, Bratislava Priemyselná škola 1930/1, pp. 24-5 and 1931/2, p. 25.

²⁹ "Stručný," pp. 260-1.

³⁰ Komenský, 46, No. 24 (30 August 1919), 7.

³¹ LAMS 42 VIII 23, "Priemyselné a odborné školy v r. 1919/1920," p. 12.

³² Pohronská župa 3851/1925-ŠA-Banská Bystrica.

³³ J. Smetana, "Štátnej čsl. priemyselná škola v Bratislave," in Žitavský, *Pamätník*, Vol. I, p. 163.

³⁴ Brigita Šimonová et. al., *Minulost', súčasnosť', budúcnosť': Jubilejný almanach k 50. výročiu slovenskej technickej školy v Banskej Bystrici* (Banská Bystrica: Stredoslovenské vydavateľstvo, 1967), pp. 34-5.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-7.

³⁶ Edvard Reich, "Vývoj zemědělského školství s hlediska celostátního," in Reich & Václav Škoda, eds., *Zemědělská osvěta v R.Č.S.* (Prague: Ministerstvo školství a národní osvěty, ministerstvo zemědělství a zemský úřad, 1931), pp. 10-12.

³⁷ There was some variance: The total of agricultural schools fluctuated between 13 and 16 (of which 10-12 were Czechoslovak).

³⁸ Ľudovít Hamaš, "Výchova poľnohospodárov v rokoch neslobody-1938-1945 na

Slovensku," Cykl. vytisk. KPU, Bratislava, as quoted in Zdeněk Černohorský, *Dějiny zemědělského školství v Československu* (Prague: SPN, 1980), pp. 5-1.

³⁹ Jozef Babánek, *Zemedel'ské školstvo d'la stavu roku 1927* (Bratislava: Slovenská knihtlačiareň, 1928), p. 30.

⁴⁰ Yearly Report, Košice Vyššia hospodárska škola 1919-1929 and 1920/30, p. 5.

⁴¹ Ludovít Hamaš, *Z dejín polnohospodárskeho školstva* (Bratislava: SPN, 1967), p. 22.

⁴² *Československá štatistika*, Vol. 2, p. 11*.

⁴³ Barták, *Vývin*, p. 291.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 290; and *Československá štatistika*, Vol. 2, p. 15*.

⁴⁵ Babánek, *Zemedel'ské*, p. 60.

⁴⁶ Vladislav Brdlik, "Agriculture," in Jozef Gruber, *Czechoslovakia: A Survey of Economic and Social Conditions* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924), p. 28.

⁴⁷ Vladimír Medek, "Krídla do života," in Hudzovič, *Sto rokov*, p. 147.

⁴⁸ See Yearly Report of Košice Vyššia hospodárska škola 1919-1929 and 1929/30, p. 25. Perhaps the most seductive means was financial. In 1920/1, 26 students at Košice received grants totalling 24,920 Kč. No other such school received more than eight grants. In the same year, 18 stipends and grants worth 15,900 Kč were awarded to Banská Štiavnica forestry students. The other three such schools in the Republic together had only 14 grants for 4900 Kč. Further evidence of Blaho's influence is that same year, nearly half of the students in Košice were from his home country at the other end of Slovakia. The largest number of students at Banská Štiavnica were also from Nitra County. *Československá štatistika*, Vol. 2, Tables V, VII.

⁴⁹ Referent for Education to principals of all secondary schools in Slovakia, č. 30.927/II of 8 June 1921-copy in Prievidza G, Spisy, Carton 1, Okresný archív-Prievidza.

⁵⁰ *Československá štatistika*, Vol. 2, Table IV.

⁵¹ Želmíra Müllerová, "Lesnícke knižnice na Slovensku," *Knižničný zborník*, 1971, p. 182. The proportion of Slovaks increased only gradually.

⁵² Yearly Report, Košice Vyššia hospodárska škola 1919-1929 and 1929/30, pp. 74-6.

⁵³ Students went on strike in December 1919 to force the establishment of the dormitory. *Štyridsať rokov Lesníckej technickej školy v Banskej Štiavnici 1919-1959* (Bratislava: Poverenictvo Pôdohospodárstva, 1959), p. 15.

⁵⁴ Archival records testify that the two schools actively solicited this aid. For example, see their letters to Podtatranská County. Podtatranská župa č. 28405/1923, 33123/1924, and 4939/1925 Adm If-ŠA-Bytča.

⁵⁵ Students were eligible for the coveted Pálffy awards. These are described by Ivan Dérer, "Spáchala první republika teměř genocidu Slováků?" *Literární listy*, 1, No. 15 (6 June 1968), p. 4.

⁵⁶ The place of agricultural education in Czechoslovak history is described extensively in Černohorský, *Dějiny zemědělského*. Most of his material is drawn from official sources.

⁵⁷ Yearly Report, Bratislava Vyššia zemedelská škola družstevná 1936/7, p. 27.

⁵⁸ Fedor Houdek, “Zahajovacia reč pri otvorení Vyšszej zemedelskej školy družstevnej v Bratislave 1. októbra 1936,” in Yearly Report, Bratislava Vyššia zemedelská škola družstevná 1936/7, pp. 11-13.

⁵⁹ Yearly Report, Bratislava Vyššia zemedelská škola družstevná 1936/7, pp. 27-8.

⁶⁰ See the school's yearly reports 1936/7 & 1937/8.

⁶¹ W. Arthur Lewis, *The University in Less-Developed Countries* (New York: International Council for Educational Development, 1974), p. 17.

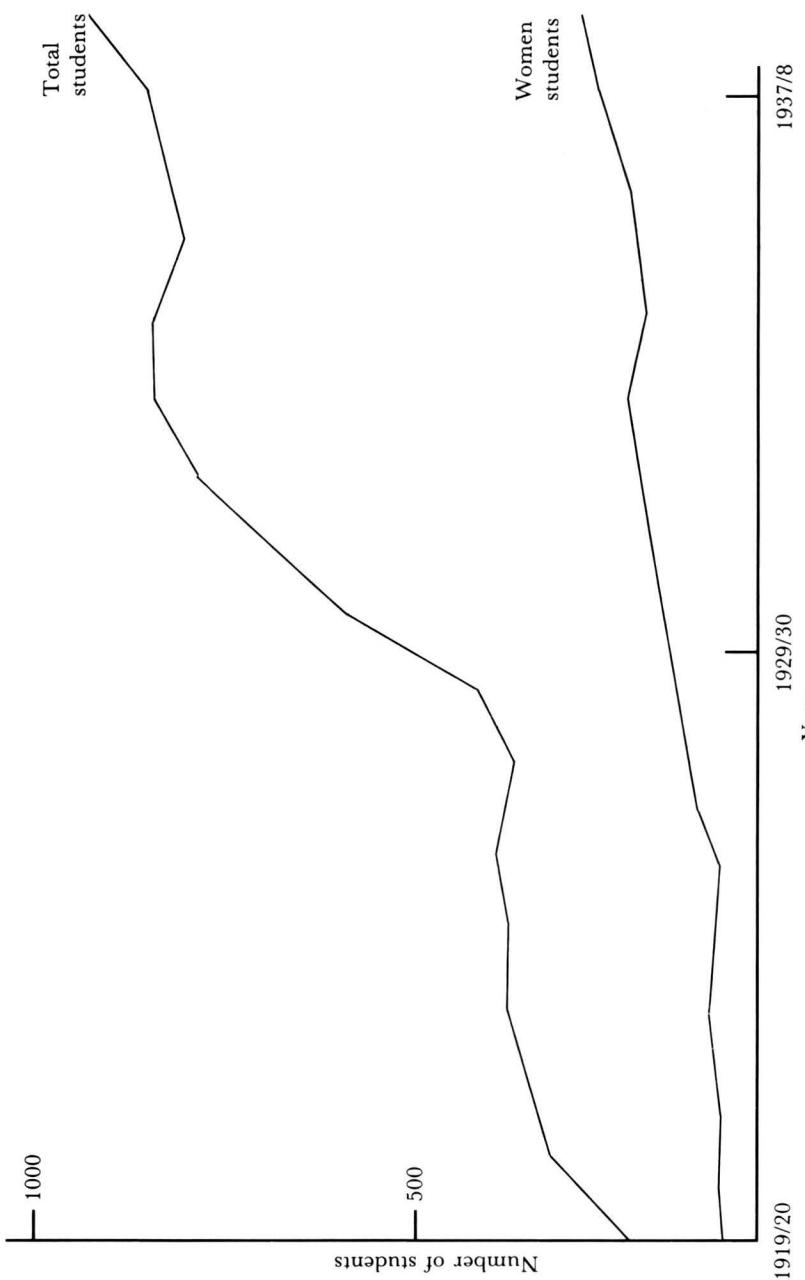


Figure 1 — Commercial Academy Enrollment

Table 1 — Commercial Academies

Total Students	1919/20	1920/1	1921/2	1922/3	1923/4	1924/5	1925/6	1926/7
Bratislava	146	174	150	134	133	151	134	132
Banská Bystrica				18	50	78	105	115
Košice	36	64	93	112	124	130	119	124
T. Sv. Martin	40	74	103	103	63	33	17	
Nitra								40
Trenčín								
TOTAL	222	312	346	367	370	392	375	411
of which women	31	32	21	38	51	68	58	52
Percentage	13.96	10.26	6.07	10.35	13.78	17.35	15.47	12.65
Students in senior								
class	0	24	40	74	71	88		
of which women	0	2	4	4	8	9		
Nationality								
Czechoslovak		324(93.6)	343(93.5)				372(61.69)	
Czech							35(5.80)	
Slovak							105(17.41)	
German			2	6			9(1.49)	
Jewish			17	10			69(11.44)	
Hungarian			1	7			13(2.16)	
Polish			1	1				
Other			1					
Czechoslovaks at								
Hungarian Schools								
Religion								
Roman Catholic		208(60.1)					384(58.45)	
Greek Catholic		3						
Czech Brethren		3						
Lutheran	54(27.69)		73(21.1)					
Reformed			4					
Orthodox			1					
Jewish	22(11.28)		35					
Czechoslovak			1					
Other Protestants	119(61.03)							
None			18					
Parental Occupation								
Agriculture								
Industry-own business								
Free Professions/Intelligentsia								
State Employees		97(15.23)						
Commerce								
Workers								
Place of Residence								
Commute								
Live with parents or								
relatives in town								
Live with guardians								
Birthplace								
City of School	13(9.49)		94(30.13)					
Other Slovakia	78(56.93)		14(4.49)					
Foreign	4(2.92)		139(44.55)					
Bohemia	25(18.25)		36(11.54)					
Moravia/Silesia	17(12.41)		29(9.29)					

Table 1 — Commercial Academies

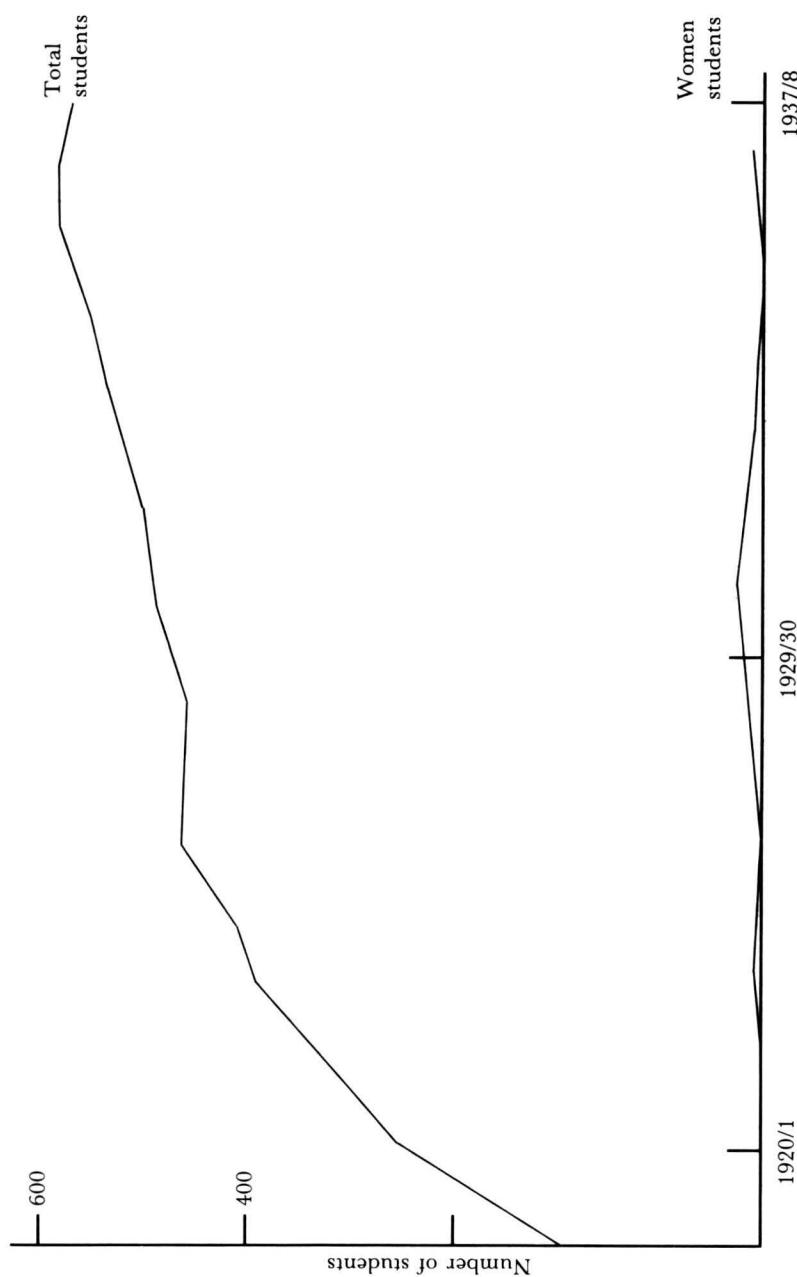


Figure 2 — Industrial High School Enrollment

Table 2 — Industrial High Schools

Total Students	1919/20	1920/1	1921/2	1922/3	1923/4	1924/5	1925/6
Bratislava-mech. eng.	45	81	117	131	128	126	112
-civil eng.	32	68	53	79	88	105	120
Košice-mech. eng.	41	86	116	136	130	144	138
Banská Štiavnica-chemical			10	27	52	79	82
Prešov-civil eng.							
TOTAL	118	235	296	373	398	454	452
of which women*	3	2	2	1	11	7	
Students in senior class			52		75	55	
of which women			1		1	0	
Nationality							
Czechoslovak	211	270	346				
Russian/Ruthenian/Ukrainian	3	2	3				
Hungarian		1	1				
German	4	4	7				
Jewish	16	18	14				
Other	1	1	2				
Religion							
Roman Catholic		178					
Greek Catholic		4					
Czech Brethren		1					
Lutheran		42					
Reformed		2					
Orthodox		2					
Jewish		42					
None		25					

*almost all women studied at Banská Štiavnica

Table 2 — Industrial High Schools

Table 3 — Agricultural High Schools

	1919/20	1920/1	1921/2	1922/3	1923/4	1924/5	1925/6
Košice-Agricultural School	25	45	68	96	100	107	109
Banská Štiavnica-							
Forestry High School		48	77	98	95	85	84
TOTAL		93	145	194	195	192	193
of which women	0	0	1	0	1	1	2
No. in senior class	0	0					
Nationality							
Czechoslovak	87	139	184	183	180	178	
Russian/Ruthenian/Ukrainian			3	2	5	5	
German	2	2	2	4	2	6	
Hungarian	3	3	4	4	2	1	
Jewish	2						
Bulgarian	1		1				
Unknown		1					
Other					1	1	3
Religion							
Roman Catholic	82	128	157	151	149	140	
Greek Catholic	1		4	3	3	4	
Czech Brethren			1	2	2	1	
Lutheran	8	11	22	26	26	32	
Reformed			1				
Orthodox		1			2	5	
Jewish	2	1	1	2	3	6	
Czechoslovak		3	1	5	4	3	
Other					1		
None		1	7	6	2	2	
Fees							
Paid in Fall					125	114	134
Fee Waiver					67	68	54
Half Waiver					3	10	5

Table 3 — Agricultural High Schools

1926/7	1927/8	1928/9	1929/30	1930/1	1931/2	1932/3	1933/4	1934/5	1935/6	1936/7
96	94	105	104	108	104	107	108	112	115	114
72	67	71	73	81	80	77	84	85	77	85
168	161	176	177	189	184	184	192	197	192	199
1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	1
						42	45	35	41	
155	147	162	167	176	178	176	183		190	196
3	3	5	4	5	2	2	2		1	1
3	2	3	3	2	1	3	3		1	1
	5	2	2	4	2	2	3			1
7	4	4	1	2	1	1	1			
113	114	120	124	132	130	131	137		127	
3	2	3	4	8	7	5	7		9	
31	25	34	37	37	37	34	33		45	
5	7	10	5	6	1	2	2		1	
9	9	6	6	6	5	5	4		5	
2	1				2	1	2		1	
4	3	3	1		1	4	4		2	
107	109							88	105	
57	50							21	5	
4	2							83	89	

Table 4 — Agricultural High Schools — Socioeconomic Data

	1921/2		1922/3		1923/4		1924/5	
	K	BŠ	K	BŠ	K	BŠ	K	BŠ
Parental Occupation								
Owners of land:								
100 + hectares	2	—	—	—	7	—	8	—
20-100 hectares	8	6	8	—	8	1	9	1
5-20 hectares	18	8	22	16	19	4	18	7
less than 5 hectares	3	4	15	3	12	14	5	11
Agricultural or forestry								
employee or worker	2	14	4	14	4	12	4	13
official	5	15	11	16	9	14	7	7
Non-agricultural	25	31	36	49	41	50	52	46
Age								
-16	5*	—*	13	3	9	5	8	2
17-18	28†	8†	33	24	33	27	33	24
19-20	27	31	31	36	38	29	40	29
21-22	6	21	15	10	12	16	17	20
23 & above	2	17	4	25	8	18	9	10
Scholarships								
State-No./Value	27/26,800	15/7,900	37/38,485	17/8,900				
Regional-No./Value			9/10,830	9/4,629				
District-No./Value								
Other-No./Value (Values in Kčs)	16/13,000	7/9,500	8/4,900	9/6,300				
Total Students receiving grants	29/39,800	18/17,400	54/54,215	27/18,829	65/41,810	23/15,900	71/37,600	34/15,580

BŠ — Banská Štiavnica

K — Košice

* — age 15

† — ages 16-18

Table 4 — Agricultural High Schools — Socioeconomic Data

K	1925/6		1926/7		1927/8		1935/6		1936/7		BŠ
	BŠ	K	BŠ	K	BŠ	K	BŠ	K	BŠ	K	
4	—	11	—	9	—	8	2	10	—	—	
11	1	12	2	18	3	22	13	26	2	2	
14	13	26	12	25	7	34	9	40	8	8	
20	8	7	6	15	6	11	3	7	4	4	
4	2	4	7	4	9	2	6	1	17	17	
11	14	4	9	4	9	1	6	—	7	7	
45	46	32	36	19	32	37	6	30	47	47	
4	16	13	4	2	3	8	2	6	—	—	
36	35	34	25	19	20	33	23	30	27	27	
48	19	28	31	44	24	30	20	39	27	27	
17	19	17	10	23	14	22	23	17	14	14	
4	5	4	2	6	6	22	9	22	17	17	
8/3,100						4/2,500	6/4,200	5/2,300			
						25/12,350	4/3,000	15/12,700	7/4,200		
						9/3,000	10/3,350	1/500			
						2/700	1/962				
55/33,150	20/7,790	53/30,750	13/11,650	58/27,400	2/5,200	36/16,050	8/5,500	32/21,212	13/7,000		

Table 5
Higher Cooperative Agricultural School
1936/7

Total Students: 22 (all male); all graduated

Nationality: 20 Czechoslovak, 2 Hungarian

Age: 1 17-18, 5 19-20, 5 21-2, 5 23 & above

Fees: 17 waived, 5 part waived

Family Occupations: 3 owners of 20-100 hectares, 10 owners of 5-20 hectares,
2 agricultural or forestry employees and workers,
7 nonagricultural

Scholarships: 3 from regional government totalling 4,000 Kč
16 others totalling 26,000 Kč

Excerpt from *In Due Season*

Paul Wilkes

“Is . . . is he home? Pán Vlášek?”

“No, no, in the field,” Dušan replied impatiently, stuffing two huge loaves of bread into a sack.

“Stará?”

“Yes, yes. *Matka moja*, what you girls won’t do; you are the third one today.”

“Oh,” she breathed, as if by her late arrival she might already have lost out. “I won’t stay long. I have a heap of washing to do. So high I can’t even see over the top of it.”

“They are good to you, those Magyars?”

“Oh yes, Pán Vlášek. When they have roast, we have roast. And as many potatoes as you can eat.”

“So you are happy up there on the hill?”

“For now.”

“And?”

“Someday I want to live again in the valley in my own house and raise children; eight, ten, maybe an even dozen. I do not want a fancy life.”

“For such a family you need a strong back and a wealthy husband.”

“Just one who works hard, Pán Vlášek. I already know the one. And I am strong, stronger than the other girls. I will make a good wife.”

“You children. So eager to grow up. If you only knew. Well, Kubo will be back soon and he should not find you here. He is not used to the ways of females.” Dušan put on his hat and tossed the bag to his shoulder. “By the way,” he said, lowering his voice, “is it true what they do up there; the drinking, the sins of the flesh, all that?”

“My parents tell me little, but in the morning, cleaning up the great hall, there are signs, Pán Vlášek,” she said, lowering her eyes in shame.

“Terrible, awful,” Dušan said, and passing through the door added, “and worse yet not be able to afford it. Good luck, girl.”

The old woman was sitting on a bench in the corner of the room, lost in the shadows beneath the holy pictures. As the rosary beads slipped through her fingers, her wrinkled lips moved quickly, giving off the sound of something sizzling, like wet wood added to a hot fire.

Step by step Zuzka Tavelčáková approached her, looking for some sign that the woman knew she was there.

She had grown in the years she'd lived with her family in the castle of Count Szepesy and was indeed not only stronger but considerably larger than other girls of her age, which was fifteen. Her shoulders were broad, her hands, already red and calloused from hours of scrubbing clothes and peeling vegetables and hauling wood to the many fireplaces, were so able that even her older brothers would call upon Zuzka when they needed to pull a balking cow into a stall or when the last sacks of flour had to be stacked near the crosspiece of the huge *sypanec*.

But, as much as God had blessed her with an abundance of good health and strength, He had not been so generous with her appearance. Her forehead was too large, and a certain puffiness above her eyes made her appear to be constantly scowling. Although her mouth was full and well formed, her upper lip had a tendency to push up the skin beneath her nose, the force of which formed two deep lines that curled beneath her cheeks. Zuzka Tavelčáková was a good-natured, cheerful girl in her heart and in her actions, but her face did not represent her justly.

“I have brought a *forint*, Pani Mičeková,” Zuzka said softly, bending at the knee in a quick curtsy before the old woman.

The old woman's eyes did not open; her lips moved more quickly, as if she would have to be further coaxed from her religious reverie.

“*Teta?*” she said with greatest respect. “You are the only one who can help.”

“Did you do exactly as I told you?” the old woman snapped, continuing with her rosary as she awaited the supplicant's reply.

“Oh, yes, everything,” Zuzka said excitedly. She began her recitation, grasping first her smallest finger, holding it tightly as she savored her exactness, her fervidness, as she unabashedly displayed her girlish hope. “Last night, in the moonlight, the brightest moonlight — I waited — I picked *zemežlče* by the river. I picked and I picked until my *zajda* was filled.

“A little is all that is needed.” She dismissed her exuberance.
“I didn’t want to take chances; I didn’t think it would hurt.”
“Then?”

She grasped the next finger. “Then I went to the field of *konope* with the other girls and I rolled and rolled. Each of us put a stick with a different-colored ribbon in the ground so we would know where we had been.” She ran her hands over the front of her apron. “The *konope* stands straight . . . well, almost straight, this morning.”

“Better that it is not perfect; that would mean you marry in a year. Too young.”

“And we all made wreaths with branches of the willow, and when we threw them in the river, *pani*, mine was the first to reach the great rock. The first!”

“So you will marry first, but not next year.”

She grasped her fourth finger, but her hands soon slid together, locked in their own prayer. “I knelt before the Virgin and promised that if she heard my plea I would not let Kubo touch anything more than my arm until we were man and wife. I vowed it, *teta*, under pain of mortal sin!”

The old woman’s eyes flickered open, glistening in their dark sockets. Zuzka could not look into those eyes; she peered down, intently following a hairline crack in the dirt floor.

“You must swear it again, Zuzka, swear that no impure thoughts will come into your mind. That if Kubo so much as touches you above here,” she said, laying her gnarled hand on the opposite elbow, “you will slap him as if he were the devil himself.”

“Oh, I do swear it! Under pain of the eternal fires of hell!”

“You have those large breasts.” The old woman nodded gravely toward Zuzka’s blouse. “The boys will want to touch them; even him.”

“*Teta*, I have dedicated them to the Virgin; they are hers, not his,” she said, taking in her breath and pulling her vest tightly against her body. “Oh, I am sorry they have grown so.”

“I don’t know why you want the boy anyhow,” the old woman said. “He is neither big nor clever.”

“I am strong,” and Zuzka’s voice became softer, that of a mother speaking to her infant, “and he is kind and gentle, not like the other boys.” The tone again was firm. “And I can push him, help him to be a man, stand up.”

The old woman's hands, the rosary still entwined in her fingers, disappeared beneath her threadbare shawl. Zuzka stood still, her heart pounding, her breath escaping from her mouth in a series of sharp, moist gasps. "Please, God, please . . ." she whispered.

"Through . . . the . . . Christ . . . bring . . ."

Zuzka leaned forward, straining to hear, but she could only understand a few words as they rasped forth from deep in the old woman's throat.

" . . . drawn to . . . let his . . . Holy Ghost, Amen."

Zuzka took a step forward, the *forint* in hand.

"From the drippings at Our Lady's altar. The most blessed wax at Our Lady's feet," the old woman said with a certain pride of craftsmanship. But when she saw the hand stretched out to her with the coin, her own hand snapped shut. "So, little foolish girl, you think you can buy this? Pay the *bosorka* and laugh to your friends about the old fool? You have your nerve!"

"No, no, *teta*," Zuzka pleaded. "I know that. Look. I place the coin here, on the bench. I do not give it to you. No, nothing this sacred can be bought."

"Leave no doubt about it."

The hand opened again. Squarely in the middle of the old woman's palm lay the figure of a man, no bigger than a thumball, fashioned from pale yellow beeswax.

When Kubo returned from the fields he found the house empty, the ashes in the fireplace cool. He splashed water on his face, neck, and arms and dressed hurriedly, silently cursing the hundreds of tiny shoots that had virtually sprung up overnight among the potato plants. His father had drummed into his head the old saying, "Cut the weed today and spare the plant tomorrow," and Kubo, whose main task at this time of the year was weeding, sometimes had to be prodded to maintain his vigilance against the tiny green enemies that sapped the nourishment of the crops. But not on that day, for Kubo wanted to impress upon his father how responsible, how serious he was about work. Although his family left early Kubo remained behind and made sure that the field was clean, the soil broken with his hoe to receive whatever rain might fall.

Kubo shoved his blouse into the clean white woolen britches with the thick black embroidery and reached up to the shelf above the bed

to take down his *čiapka*. He looked at the foolish little brimless pillbox, the two silken ribbons that trailed behind. A boy's cap. A child's. As he plopped it on the back of his head, the dismal thought came to his mind that it could still be on his head when St. John's Day came next year.

By the time Kubo arrived, out of breath from his run, the pasture to the north of the village was already filled with people, and the Feast of St. John's had begun. The cows, Gizela among them, grazed peacefully in the afternoon light, with wreaths of daisies over their horns, which Anna and the girls her age had made. The older, unmarried girls had woven a long chain of daisies and took turns flinging it up into the tall oak. It was an important ritual, for the number of branches the chain covered would be the years each maiden would have to wait for marriage. Up to a certain age, young girls threw the chain of daisies with all their might, but the older maidens, like Justina Marušáková, now twenty-three, whose half-closed eyes and stuttering, dull speech had failed to attract a spouse, aimed for a single low branch and prayed that the superstition bore truth. Everyone got a turn, even Zuzka's oldest sister, Dorota, who was past forty but whose brain had remained that of a child's.

As Kubo walked by the group of girls, Zuzka eagerly took the chain of daisies in her large hands and puffed out the chest she had sworn hours before would not be violated. But marriage and carnal thoughts were the farthest things from his mind, and he did not look as the daisies and her prayers fluttered toward heaven.

He went directly to the huge, square stack of neatly cut logs and bent his head back to take in the dozens of small fir trees that had been placed on top. As the sun set on this, the longest day of the year, the day of *Jana*, the pagan god who was Christianized into the good St. John, the dry wood would burst into flame and the yearly pageant would be performed. At its end, Kubo well knew, a brave few, who up to this night had been called boys and treated as such, would henceforth walk the village streets as men.

Kubo gulped and stooped down, stretching the muscles of his legs.

Off to the side of the huge stack the Vadasz brothers and other boys just a year or two younger than Kubo were playing a game he had played many times himself. And even with some of them. One boy would bend down and another would leap upon him like a frog, and be carried for

as long a distance as young legs could hold up. Still other boys were imitating the cows grazing, complete with mooing sounds. The young Cernetsky boy had borrowed the daisy wreath from their cow, Sargula, and the other boys clapped with glee at the silly sight.

“Kubo, come, come,” they called to him, but Kubo acted as if he could not hear them. He threw his shoulders back, straining his body to be as tall as he possibly could, and walked to a spot near the tables of food and drink where his father was standing, his pipe in hand, talking to some men.

“This is my Kubo,” Dušan said to a short man who wore a long ostrich feather in his hat, “the best weed puller south of the High Tatras. Meet Pán Božek and his boy Pavel,” he said, motioning to a boy about Kubo’s age. On the boy’s head was a hat and feather similar to his father’s, and he nodded without saying a word.

It was another humiliating reminder.

“We were just talking about the first market in Bardejov,” Dušan said. “Pán Božek is a great landowner in Malá Mača and plans to sell much.”

“No, no, not a great landowner,” Pán Božek said. “Just a simple peasant like yourself, blessed with a few meters of God’s precious earth, who works his fool head off.”

“For yourself, and if a neighbor needs a hand . . .”

“. . . well, this is our way, it is nothing to brag . . .”

“. . . Do you hear of such things from those who have gone to Amerika? Answer me that one.” Dušan jabbed at the space in front of Pán Božek’s nose. “They all work for themselves, never help a friend to harvest or give a loaf of bread to one who needs it. You, Pán Božek, are a fine example to put in the face of all those *vypasení Američania*. Take notice of this man, Kubo.”

“Last year we took three wagonloads of wheat and *l'an* to Bardejov and sold everything,” Pavel said, putting his hands on his hips. “Our horse danced all the way home.”

“Just *forints* and crowns to bring home,” Dušan said. “A light load.”

“Well . . .” Pán Božek said, trying to appear modest.

“I have never seen you at the market,” Pavel said to Kubo.

“My boy is not yet ready,” Dušan said before Kubo could answer.

“There is no hurry. Some day . . . Now, some *pálenka*, my friend, and

some of the fine *koláče* from the village of Zbudza. You boys run off and play."

As the sun lingered capriciously in the sky, Pavel and Kubo walked among the revelers, drank the sweet berry juices and ate huge hunks of the lamb that Baník had brought only to have some villagers refuse to touch it, calling it a "guilt offering." When the two boys came close to the group of young girls who had started to dance with each other, Eta Minarovičová and Júlia Vadaszová looked toward Kubo, but he knew it was for an introduction to the handsome stranger and not for himself. Regardless, Kubo was more interested in Pavel's stories of the market at Bardejov, of the huge wheels of cheese that the shepherds made, of the magnificent church that could hold all the people from five large villages.

Pavel did not do it in the boastful fashion of Franko Hruščák, who made boys just a year or two younger than himself feel like mere babies because they had never been to Bardejov and he had. Pavel talked quietly, directly, but almost religiously about the land that his family owned in Malá Mača, and how someday, as the eldest son, it would be his. "And I will have more each year," he said with sureness in his voice. "There is nothing I love more than work." He added with a smile, "And a little *slivovica* now and then when my father doesn't finish his glass. All these people going to *Amerika*! Hah, my father is right, yours too. What could be a better life than we have?"

As Kubo tried not to look envious, Pavel went on to tell him that he was coming home later and later at night, and sometimes his parents were already in bed, so he slept in the barn. Kubo had slept in the barn often on hot summer nights, but the idea of sleeping there after spending a night in the foothills, smoking cigarettes with his friends, or after making wolf calls at a girl's window, was a forbidden pleasure so sweet he could not believe it would ever happen.

"Who's that?" Pavel motioned.

"The little one? My sister, Anna. Why?"

"I've never seen hair like hers; strange color."

"Baby hair, just a streak."

"How old is she anyhow?" Pavel said, his eyes not leaving Anna until she disappeared into the crowd that had gathered around the stack of wood.

"Almost eleven."

“Skinny legs.”

“I guess. She’s a dreamer.”

“AAAHHHH!” The sound echoed over the meadow to the tall junipers, sending a flock of bluejays into the purple night air. “AAAHHHH!” It rumbled down the slope to where the river Laborec wound its way through the thickets of reeds. “AAAHHHH!” the chorus of voices breathed as the flames licked at the neatly stacked logs and suddenly burst skyward in a mammoth orange ball as the sap-filled branches, the needles and cones of the fur trees caught fire.

Kubo’s throat went dry.

Pavel put his arm over the shoulder of the boy he’d met just a short time before. “Not yet. It will die down. There is time to be a man.”

Other boys, some Kubo’s age, like Franko Hruščák and Jozef Králik also stood around the fire, carefully eyeing the flames and casting sidelong glances to see if anyone was ready to try. Cyril Gašparovič was also there, a frail boy already three years older than Kubo, who had never danced or jumped over the fire and whose mother was known to be making a novena to the Blessed Lady.

The firs burned off quickly, leaving shimmering red skeletons, but flames from the logs were still at least as high as the top of his head as Kubo walked a slow circle around the fire, eyeing it with the intensity and dread of a *bača* faced with a hungry wolf. It was a delicate issue, one, down through the centuries that the tradition had been practiced, that required the judgment only a mature man would have. There was a point, just one point, when the flames receded enough to be traversed but when a boy could be seriously burned or, as the story was told of the arrogant *richtár*’s son many years ago, killed. There would always be one person who knew that point, took the chance, and the others who followed would go through life remembering his bravery and bemoaning their lack of it.

It was sometimes better to wait until the next St. John’s Day rather than risk the humiliation of being one of the last, the least brave. For as the fire died down, even the tiny boys of the village would jump over the embers in childish practice for the day some years away when they would risk painful burns to gain their manhood.

The gypsy band struck up the first tunes, and it was mostly the older people, singing and clapping their hands, who began to flatten the thick grass with their dancing feet. The rest of the people from Zbud-

za, those with young sons and those from Malá Mača and Veľká Mača who had made a pilgrimage for the feast days stayed close to that fire, talking among themselves, waiting, but making no reference to the drama that was building moment by moment.

Kubo had made a complete circle, and finally he stood before his father, his arms at his sides, like a soldier in ranks. "Otec," he said, using the formal address, "will you please hold my *čiapka*?"

Dušan looked over his son's shoulder to the leaping yellow and red flames of the fire. He squinted so that he could see it better. Then he extended his hand without saying a word, either of encouragement or caution, and took the hat from his son, placing it under his arm.

One by one, the people moved to the side, clearing a path. Except for a low, haunting gypsy love song and the crackling of dry wood, the meadow was quiet, and nothing stood between Kubo Vlášek and the state he so desired, nothing but the fire that had purged and proven men of Zbudza for countless generations.

His heart pounding, his mouth full of cotton, Kubo made the sign of the cross. His first steps were almost his undoing as his *krpce* slipped on grass, moist from spilled beer. But then he lengthened his stride and by the time he had reached the edge of the crowd, he was running as fast as he could. Logs tumbled together at the fire's core and a huge tongue of flame leaped out, but it was too late. Kubo's *krpce* had left the ground.

"AAAHHHH," the sound — a cheer, a moan — rose up from the lips of men and women and children as a form, black against the bright flames, seemed to hang in the air. The gypsy band stopped in mid-song.

"AAAHHHH!" Women crossed themselves and men's lips tightened. The mouths of small children gaped open.

"AAAAAAHHHHH!" The fire crackled angrily, spitting hot sparks into the cool night air.

Dušan fingered the *čiapka* beneath his arm, then grasped it firmly. His son stood before him, eyebrows vanished from his pink face, his hair a mass of tiny burnt and frizzy curls, one leg of his white trousers browned, like the top of a loaf of bread. Dušan could smell the hair, the cloth, the flesh that had passed through the St. John's fire.

He extended the *čiapka* to his son, looking at it, turning it in his hand. "Perhaps a bit too small, Kubo. I think in Bardejov they might

have some bigger ones; more like . . . ”

Whatever words followed were lost in the deafening accolade rendered to Jakub Vlášek.

After his awesome display of bravery, Kubo could seemingly do nothing wrong as the sun set and the evening of dancing began in earnest. His *krpce* kicked high in the air but landed with a feather's lightness so close to the flasks of *víno* and *borovička* that gasps were heard from the young girls who stood in a group eyeing the boys who would someday be their husbands. Even Eta Minarovičová and Júlia Vadaszová, by far the prettiest and most choosy girls in Zbudza on feast days in the past acted as if Kubo Vlášek had some contagious disease, could not keep their eyes off him. Their hands behind their backs, their hips swaying gently to the music, they waited, as did all their girl friends, for the most important dance in the life of every boy who jumped over the fire on St. John's Day.

The gypsies knew it. Their gold teeth flashing beneath black mustaches, they would tease with the first bars of a popular tune. But then they would break into another song that only the boys could dance to, and display their prowess still more, delaying the moment when the eager young girls and the proud young boys would have a dance together.

The band struck up a dance done entirely on one foot. Boys shoved and jostled, feinted and ducked, and the less agile were sent sprawling into the grass. And, at the dance's end, there was just one who had not resorted to using his other foot, who had not been knocked over. Kubo Vlášek twirled around on the ball of his foot, with an agility even his father had to applaud.

The gypse *husle* player kept Kubo dancing, increasing the beat, but Kubo, lost in the ecstasy of the magic night, would not lose his balance. His mind was already in Bardejov, his head already covered in a fine new hat. He could feel the jingle of coins in his pocket, straw under his back in the barn.

The beat changed so subtly that Kubo was not even aware of it. He kept twirling and twirling. It was already pitch dark, but logs had been heaped on the fire, and as Kubo's eyes, fogged with perspiration, took in the blur of faces standing around the dancing area, flashes of color started swirling about him, in the opposite direction. Like great red and yellow and green eels swimming in a shallow stream, the ornate *parta* streaming down from the braided heads of the unmarried

girls shimmered in the fire's light, each offering the night's hero the maiden of his choosing.

All the rituals he had prepared for, jumping over the fire, the one-legged dance, but Kubo Vlášek had not, up to that very moment, decided which girl would have the honor of his first dance as a man. He twirled faster and became dizzier in his delicious moment of triumph, in his hour of indecision. The *parta* fluttered by, the tips flickering at his nose. The gypsy band picked up the beat. Faster and faster.

His arm reached out to the flashing colors. And it was soundly met.

"Oh, thank you, I would be most honored."

The villagers applauded still louder while Kubo's friends hooted and whistled. And Zuzka Tavelčáková, her great eyebrows arched over a huge smile, her free arms swinging in wild exultation, her huge breasts threatening release from the rest of her body, danced about the circle. She held on to Kubo tightly and, as they neared the fire, reached into her apron pocket and withdrew a clenched fist, with which she blessed herself. Then the hand flew open — and a small object disappeared into the flames.

Around, around he twirled Zuzka until finally the gypsy playing the *cymbál* ran the soft felt hammers from the low notes to the high, signaling the next dance would begin. But, before they could launch into it, several pairs of hands reached out to Kubo, and suddenly he was being hoisted into the air.

"*Jeden!*"

"*Dva!!*"

"*Tri!!!*"

And with the third toss the loudest cheer — fueled by *borovička* and beer and tradition — rippled across the meadow and down to the river where a flock of tiny doves bolted from the reeds and flew toward the darkness of the huge junipers.

"*YAAAYAAAAAYAAAAAAA!*"

"And now the new man buys the next bottle of *pálenka*," Mladen shouted at Kubo, whose wet, singed hair was being tousled by his young friends, whose hands were being pressed with handshakes.

One handshake was stronger, longer than the others, and as Kubo blinked through the sweat and ash in his eyes, he could see that it was his father who stood before him. When at least he was released, Kubo had a *korunák* in his hand.

"You are a man, my son, and you will from this day be paid wages," Dušan said, talking slowing so as not to slur his words. "You will inherit the land, you will care for this family . . . but now, first things first. Buy the *pálenka!*"

The fire died down and was fed with fresh logs. Boys sneaked off with girls and nuzzled in the darkness. The gypsy band played and drank and played still more. The old woman, Mičeková, nodded without saying a word when Zuzka's mother said that her daughter and the young Vlášek boy made a fine couple.

The young teacher danced with some of the village women, but only when they asked him. And a small boy, whose emerald eyes glistened when the flames rose, stood atop the hill in the shadow of the giant lindens, his thumbs locked in his belt.

When it came time to return home, Kubo eventually found his father lying on the ground, an empty bottle in his hand, his head propped against the thick exposed roots of an oak tree, his eyes barely visible through small slits. He motioned for his son to sit by him.

"I have only a year, perhaps two in this vale of tears," Dušan began, weighing each word somberly and patting his son on the knee. "You must remain strong, my son, my only son, and believe in what is right and decent, what has been handed down from generation to generation." His eyes flickered open wider.

"Father, why this talk? You are healthy; you will live to be one hundred."

"Place your hand on my heart."

"Father?"

"Your hand."

Kubo did as he was told. Dušan pressed the boy's hand onto the fancy embroidery of his shirt, now soaked with sweat and *borovička*, stained with berry wines and grease from the lamb, tainted as it was. "Repeat after me . . .

"I . . . Kubo Vlášek . . . vow on my father's heart . . . on the day I became a man . . . to love this land . . . never to turn from it . . . To listen to God and not the foolish tales of the world outside . . . To care for children and animals . . . because each comes from God . . . Never to strike my woman without good reason . . . To keep this sacred pledge . . . as pledged on my father's heart . . . that the cursed word 'Amerika' will never . . . never . . . be heard in the house . . .

our esteemed Miloš Vlášek built . . . with his bare hands . . . years and years ago.”

Dušan’s voice became lower and lower as if he were ready to cry.

“Do you promise all this my son, under pain of mortal sin, eternal damnation and the fires of hell?”

“I do, Father,” Kubo said evenly, “I promise this before God.”

“Good.” Dušan slumped back onto the roots. “Now, fetch the wagon. Your father is too tired to be walking this night.”

My Grandfather's Silence

Patricia Ondek Laurence*

Before my current academic interest in Slovaks and their view of work — gleaned from books — arose, there was “Dzedo,” my grandfather.

He died fourteen years ago, leaving only other people’s stories about him. Joseph Pančurák was a man possessed with a quality that often characterizes immigrant Slovaks with their ability to shrug, to live to themselves; he offered little ancestral help with words, preferring to reap his life in silence.

This stoical ability was not passed on to me, and my eager questions about life in Slovakia and Pennsylvania in the first half of this century were met with a stubborn silence. Or, the splat of tobacco juice in the spittoon near his favorite wicker chair which he used to ward off still the miner’s thirst¹ and now the curious new-world children. “*Butz tzicho*,” “be quiet,” he invariably said.

But how could I learn from what had largely been a silent tradition? Silent because of the distance between a grandfather and a granddaughter who could barely speak each other’s languages; silent because, by the time I had grown to articulate my own questions about my grandparents’ lives, they were too tired to answer with anything but a sigh and “*ah, jaj, jaj, Matička*,” “Mother of God”; silent because of a tradition of quiet suffering more expressive of its endurance than articulate of complaint.

From others, I had heard stories about my grandfather, who, they say, was a teller of tales when young. From them, I learned about his enterprising, inventive, and colorful ways. Never having spent a day in school, Dzedo would always make a point of “remembering,” and

* I would like to thank my mother, Ann Pancurak Ondek of San Jose, California; my uncle, George Pencer of Palm Springs, California; and my aunt, Mary Pancurak Stetts of Linden, New Jersey, for telling me stories about my grandfather.

would tell stories to his “*krajania*,” close friends and relatives, for hours. Uncle George remembers:

Here is one thing Dad had. Something he had that we don’t. We’d say, “Dad, tell us a story,” and he would settle down with his pipe and tell us the most beautiful story. He could go on and on and fit the story to the occasion. A story about a mule giving a farmer a problem, or he would sing us a song about the neighborhood cat: “Oh, don’t get married, who’s going to catch our mice. . . .”

Dzedo would tell them of Ruská Nová Ves, Slovakia, where he lived on a farm and worked in the forests, logging for the squire of the town, to earn money toward the yearned-for trip to America. Starting out across central Europe at the age of twenty-three in 1905 with John Hrobák, they walked three days and nights (fortified by a slab of bacon and a bottle of whiskey) through hills and mountains to escape the Austrian draft. Dzedo wore out a pair of new shoes, only to miss the boat from Hamburg, Germany, to America. A few weeks later, he found passage on another ship, and arrived, finally, in Mahanoy City, Pennsylvania, a booming town with a population of 18,000, the heart of the anthracite coal region. Here he went to work in the Reading Coal Company mines — hazardous and strenuous work in 1906.

During these years, Dzedo lived with a bruised, lacerated back earned as he crawled through narrow mining spaces, a back that “Baba,” my grandmother, would bathe each day as he sat in a wooden tub in the basement, a back that “never seemed to heal.” Dzedo earned \$5.50 a day.

He also worked part-time for a butcher, Mr. Gablik, who was crushed to death one day while loosening a log on a large timber pile. Purchase of the butcher business enabled Dzedo to escape the mines and “miner’s asthma,” now called black lung disease, which, along with mining accidents, killed most of his mining friends before they were fifty. Always enterprising, he expanded the business in a short time by delivering meat to the outlying patches of houses in Gilberton, Mazel, and Frankfurt with a horse and buggy. Business flourished.

One day his temper flared when a woman questioned the price and quality of a slab of meat. Dzedo raised his large butcher’s knife, slashed open a one-hundred pound sack of flour standing nearby, and created

a cloud of dust and fear which sent the women customers flying. That made his prices stick. His business continued to expand, and his family grew.

But tragedy struck. His young wife, Anna, had a heart condition and was rushed off to Ashland Hospital where she died a few weeks later. After a home wake — the deceased was packed in ice and placed on view in the home parlor for relatives and friends — and a decent interval of time, Dzedo, according to Eastern European custom, married his wife's sister, Ilona. She cared for his two sons, George and Joe, and bore him nine children in her lifetime.

Aunt Mary always says, “*Bože môj!*,” “oh, my God!” “Dzedo had ideas and was always handy with machines.” When he could afford it, about 1916, he bought a Model-T Ford. He loved cars and would proudly ride to church on Sundays in a carefully ironed, starched white shirt with his growing family beside him. But one day when putting gasoline in his Model-T, under the front seat, the car caught fire and all of the upholstery was burned. Instead of rebuilding the car, Dzedo decided to put a butcher wagon frame over the chassis, and inventively converted the car into a butcher truck for his business and retired his horses to pasture.

My mother says, “There wasn’t anything that he couldn’t do.” The day before the christening of my Aunt Mary in 1914, Baba told Dzedo that a larger table was needed for the specially prepared foods and the forty expected guests. That night Dzedo made a twenty-foot table, which was filled the next day with *klobásy* and ham from the butcher shop, and my grandmother’s *pirohy*, *halušky*, and *koláče* — the usual Slovak generosity with food.

But in 1919 during a miner’s strike when people seldom paid in cash, my grandfather overextended credit to customers in the butcher shop; he lost everything.

Next, Dzedo bought a fifteen-acre farm in Locust Valley, Pennsylvania, which had no barn and no running water. Uncle George remembers this period from 1919-1925 vividly and describes Dzedo as a master craftsman who rebuilt the barn:

He was a master with his hands, and could take a log, a tree, and with a double bit ax, just mark it and what we call hew it, and cut one side as if he cut it with a saw — that’s how accurate he was.

Dzedo was a patient man. One day when my grandfather and my Uncle George ("Jurko") were taking some timber to the saw mill to be cut into boards, the horse trailed off the road. The wheel of the wagon broke, and all the timber fell into a ditch. Uncle George, then eight years old, was upset, but my grandfather patiently explained that they would pick some of the timber and carry it to the mill and pick up the rest over the next few days. Dzedo told his son, in his broken English, "Remember, Jurko, through your lifetime you have many days like this."

After the barn was rebuilt, Dzedo bought two horses from Kayser's Brewery and taught them how to plow. He set up a small forge in the basement of the house, and made chains for the horses' halters which were attached to the plow. Using the same forge, he also repaired a used furnace he found and installed pipes to heat the house for his family and pipes to irrigate his crops. Harvesting wheat, rye, and hay, and tending his cherry trees, he successfully built up the farm, but then, as the Depression approached, he was forced from his farm into industry. He returned to the mines and took part in the organization of the unions outside of Mahanoy City with Mr. Maholage.

Dzedo stayed until the late 1930s when most of the mines closed because the nation began using gas and oil for fuel. Then, looking for new work, he moved to New Jersey, and there, at the age of sixty-eight, became the last smithy in Linden, something he had always wanted to be. He forged horseshoes for fire, sanitation, and police department horses: a new trade for this logger, farmer, inventor, butcher, miner, union organizer, and now father of eleven new-world children.

As a child, I remember trailing after Dzedo, somehow always watching him from behind. He would enter Baba's warm kitchen, heated by the large cast-iron stove, where the chicken soup with the homemade noodles and the *pirohy* were steaming. I see him stamping his feet from the cold, the cuffs of his baggy pants dragging; I hear the splat of tobacco in the spittoon near the door. He reaches out to take the shot of whiskey and then the glass of beer that Baba hands him. Then he looks at me and says gruffly, "Dones moje šusi," "get me my slippers," a phrase that my mother has duly taught me since Dzedo had scolded her for not teaching me Slovak. I bring his slippers. He sits down in his wicker chair and takes out his handkerchief. He twists it and makes it jump for me. It's a rabbit. He teaches me to watch his silent hands.

NOTE

Grandfather was a coal miner, and chewing a quid of tobacco was a habit in the mines and at home. Because of the amount of coal dust in the air in the mines, miners had dusty throats and were always thirsty: Chewing tobacco helped them to clear their throats, salivate, and expectorate.

Broken Line

Carol Towarnicky

The day she found out her great-grandmother had died was the day she found out her great-grandmother had lived. It was when her father came from Chevy, and he always came home at exactly quarter-to-four. She and her little brother Jeffie were watching "American Bandstand." All the girls in the sixth grade watched it, and Frankie Avalon was supposed to be on. Her mother was upstairs somewhere. When she and Jeffie had come home from school, they had found two slices of rye bread and a stick of butter on the kitchen table. The butter was hard.

Jackie could hear her father stomping snow off his shoes. Daddy never wore rubbers, like fathers in her readers in school, but there were so many differences between her father and those in the books that she had long ago stopped wondering about them. The fathers in the readers wore suits and ties, and when they came home they put their briefcases on the table. Sometimes, on television, they had a drink. A martini. But Daddy wore gray pants and a gray suit, and he had this metal lunchbox that looked like a small black barn. Her mother spent a lot of time cooking chicken and ham for it. Daddy hated sandwiches. Sometimes Jackie would ask for peanut butter and jelly for lunch, but they always had soup and meat.

When her father came home from work, the first thing he always did was wash his hands with cleanser. He would scrape under his nails with a nail file and wash again. But his hands never seemed really clean. Sometimes, like the day before her First Holy Communion, he washed and washed, and they looked better. But for everyday, he just did his best and let it go.

But this day, Daddy did not stop to wash his hands. When he came into the living room, a strange expression was on his face, like the time Jackie had run into the street and you could hear the brakes screech all over the neighborhood, and Daddy had spanked her for the only time.

"Where's your mother?"

Jackie pointed upstairs.

"Hey, Marge," he called loudly, "you sick or something?" There was a muffled reply and a wail. Baby Janet was up.

Her mother came down the steps quickly, without the baby. She had her coat on, which was strange because she usually kept it with the others in the downstairs closet. Her coat wouldn't button all the way. They were going to have a new baby around Valentine's Day, and Jackie hoped it would be a boy.

"My grandmother died," Mommy said softly.

"Your grandmother? The one in the old country?"

Mommy talked almost without opening her mouth. "*Ktorú inú Babku mám? Mama dostala dnes dopis.*"

Standing on the third stair from the bottom, Mommy looked much bigger than Daddy. Upstairs, Janet began to rock the crib.

"You going over there?"

"Well, Ma's real upset," her mother said. "She keeps saying that she should have known, that she should have felt it or something. She says she knew when her father died, but she didn't know when her mother died, I don't know."

When Mommy got to the bottom step, Daddy put his arm around her shoulder and she leaned against him.

"You want a ride?"

"No, I don't want to bundle them up for just a block. Just fix them supper, okay? I couldn't do anything after Ma called."

Daddy's voice was gentle. "Listen, tell your mom I'm sorry."

They stood at the front door. Mommy's hand was on the knob.

"What did she die of?" Daddy asked.

"*Myslím, že mala rakovinu.*"

Jackie hated it when her parents talked Slovak. Most of the grownups started talking it when they didn't want kids to hear. First Mommy would talk in English, and then, right in the middle, she would talk in Slovak. They always talked to Baba in Slovak, of course, because Baba didn't speak English very well at all. Baba had come to America with Mommy and Uncle John a long time ago from Slovakia, which was part of Czechoslovakia and behind the Iron Curtain. Right around Russia, which had Sputnik. Jackie had wanted to learn Slovak, so that she could really talk to Baba, but Daddy had said that it would be better to learn English good first. "Do you want people to think you're a D.P.?"

D.P.'s were funny-looking people who didn't talk right. Sometimes the little girls cried in school. They had gold earrings in their ears, even in the first grade. Jackie's friend Sandy said that they used needles to poke the holes.

Daddy's mother had come to Cleveland from Slovakia, too, but she was dead now. Daddy knew Slovak, and French from the war, and Polish and Ukrainian and Russian because of all the people in his old neighborhood. He even spoke Jewish a little. But it made him mad that some people didn't speak English. He would make fun of Mister Hudak and Mister Zahradnik; sometimes he would even make fun of Baba. "Been in this country how long," he would say to Mommy, "twenty-five years, and still can't speak the language."

Daddy opened the refrigerator. He pulled out some wonderful big hot dogs, strung together like the beads on a necklace. Daddy never bought hot dogs in plastic packages.

"How about hot dogs and pork and beans? Whaddya think?"

"Oh, but Daddy it's Friday," Jackie said. "You know we can't eat meat on Friday. It's a mortal sin."

Her father sighed. "Well, I guess we'll just have to have some Sister Imelde eggs."

Daddy didn't eat meat on Fridays ever since the time in the second grade when he had been eating ham and Jackie had cried that Sister Imelde said that anybody who ate meat on Friday was going to hell and she didn't want Daddy to go to hell. But he always called it Sister Imelde eggs or Sister Imelde fish. It made Jackie feel funny, because she didn't know whether it was a sin to make fun of Sister Imelde and she couldn't ask anybody about it.

When Jackie and Jeffie set the table, they put extra, smaller forks on the left side of the salad, and Jackie poured the milk for their tea into a small pitcher. Daddy had shown them the new way after he started being a handyman on Saturdays at Doctor Elliott's house, which was across from Lake Erie. Daddy and Mommy sometimes laughed at Doctor Elliott, who helped Mommy have babies but paid Daddy to put together his little boy's bicycle. Doctor Elliott's little boy's name was Carter.

The eggs tasted different when they were scrambled by themselves with butter. She liked them better with little bits of bacon.

"Daddy, why didn't Mommy's Baba come to America, too?"

"Mommy's Baba?"

“You know, the one who died.”

“C’mon Jeffie, let’s finish those eggs. Only two more bites.”

Jackie pushed her empty plate away. “I mean, why didn’t she just come here to live with everybody else?”

Her father sighed. “I don’t know, honey. Maybe she was just too old. Maybe she didn’t want to move.”

“Do you think they have Requiem Masses in Slovakia like we have?” They sang Requiem Masses when the sixth grade was in choir. Jackie liked it. It gave her shivers. *Re-e-qui-em Ae-e-te-e-e-er-na-am.*

Jeffie swallowed his eggs with a grimace.

“Are they gonna put her in a coffin and bury her?”

“Now, let’s now worry about that,” Daddy said as he got up and nearly tripped on the way to the refrigerator. “How about some peaches for dessert?”

Jackie felt that something had to be said. “I would never go real far away from you and Mommy, and I would never go to another country to live. I think America is the best country in the world.”

Daddy smiled. “Here we are, nice cold peaches. My favorite.”

Jeffie speared an entire peach half with his fork and nibbled on it as if it were an ice cream bar. “What was her name?” he asked.

“Her first name? I don’t really know. It was probably Margaret. That’s Baba’s name and your mother’s name. Margaret. That’s probably it.”

* * *

Since the pear tree fell down in the tornado last summer, Jackie could see the stars through her bedroom window much easier. She could tell Big Dipper and Orion’s Belt.

“But you don’t understand?” Her mother’s voice carried down the hall. “She was my grandmother and I didn’t know her. She lived a whole life and I lived a whole life and we didn’t know each other. I can’t even remember what she looked like. Ma never had a picture. All I remember was that she had a white babushka and a black apron. That’s all. Johnny says he remembers her eyes. Brown eyes, like mine.”

“Listen, Marge, lots of people grow up not knowing their grandmothers. She could have died when you were three, it would be the same.”

“But she didn’t die. Don’t you see? She was there all the time.”

* * *

In the morning, Mommy said they couldn't turn on cartoons. "You and Jeffie and I are going to eight o'clock Mass, and we are going to pray for Baba's mother, my Baba, who died. She lived in Slovakia, in Europe."

"Right near Russia, where they've got Sputnik," Jackie told Jeffie.

Jeffie buttoned his jacket, but when he finished he had a button hole left over on top and a button left over on the bottom. Mommy bent down to redo it.

"Do they have kids in Slo-vak-i-a?"

"Well, sure they do. Sure they have kids. Some of them are your cousins, just like Monica and Ricky."

Jackie pulled on her left boot. "Do the little girls have earrings?"

Mommy's lower lip seemed to move a little. "I don't know," she said, and put on her gloves.

Only old Mister Hudak had shoveled his walk this early. Mommy held on to Jeffie's hand and steadied herself on Jackie's shoulder. Jackie wondered if it was snowing on top of her cousins in Slovakia, and if it looked the same, piled precariously on the bare trees.

Review Article

THEODORIC J. ZUBEK, O.F.M.

AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM

Eva Slavkovská. "Vztah štátu k cirkvám v prvých rokoch výstavby socializmu na Slovensku," *Historický časopis*, XXX, 2 (1982), 223-49.

In her article Eva Slavkovská attempts to give a complete account of the most important events in the worsening relations between the Czechoslovak government and the Catholic Church in Slovakia during the two critical years following the Communist coup d'état of February 1948. She bases her work mostly on the official records of the Slovak Commissariat for Schools, Sciences, and Arts preserved in the Central State Archives of the Slovak Socialist Republic. Furthermore, she quotes from the works of several Communist authors who wrote about the same subject matter, as well as articles from the so-called Catholic press, which soon after the coup was subjected to complete Communist control. As a result, her evaluation of the religious situation in Slovakia is one-sided and biased by her Communist perception.

Slavkovská begins her article with a falsely preconceived idea that the deep religious convictions of the Slovak people stemmed from economic, social, and cultural backwardness, supported in great part by the Catholic hierarchy and the traditional political clericalism which until the Communist takeover in 1948 affected Slovak Catholics.

Although quite frequently Slavkovská looks back to the years before the Communist coup d'état in February, 1948, she neglects to mention that immediately after the war (1945) the Catholic Church suffered much more in Slovakia than it did in Bohemia and Moravia (Czech territories). Whereas in the Czech lands Catholics were represented by their own political party (Msgr. Jan Šrámek's Czech People's Party), Slovak Catholics were branded as "clerico-fascists" and had no political representation. The decrees of the Slovak National Council, which was dominated by Communists, had the authority of law in the territory

of Slovakia. By these decrees all Catholic schools, publications, and societies were suppressed immediately after the war, while during the same period their counterparts in Bohemia and Moravia remained untouched.

Only the elections of May 25, 1946 (the last free elections) brought some relief to Slovak Catholics. In April, 1946, the representatives of Slovak Catholics who had showed some opposition to Dr. Jozef Tiso's regime and were acceptable in the new political situation made an agreement with the representatives of the Slovak Democratic Party, previously completely dominated by Lutherans. With the help of Slovak Catholics, the Democratic Party won in Slovakia 62 % of the votes, while the Communist Party of Slovakia received less than half of that amount (30%). As a result of these elections, Slovak Catholics gained some political influence. Several of their periodical publications and some of the strictly religious societies were restored. But no Catholic schools, except the nine theologates, were allowed.

It was only after the Communist takeover that the restrictions against the Catholic Church were conducted on a national basis and applied in the same way to Catholics in the whole country. Not surprisingly, Slavkovská omits these important facts and distinctions.

She then proceeds by chronologically describing protracted and frustrating negotiations between the government and Church representatives. The bishops asked for a guarantee of freedom in the administration of the dioceses and parishes, for the preservation of the remaining Catholic schools in Bohemia and Moravia and for their restoration in Slovakia, for the existence of a free Catholic press and religious societies — rights that gradually had been restricted after the Communist coup d'état. The government pressed the bishops for a public proclamation of their loyalty to the new regime, for a renewal of their loyalty oath to the Communist government, and for influencing priests and Catholic people in promoting a pro-government spirit.

At this stage the Catholic bishops of the Czech territories and Slovakia acted together for the defense of the basic rights of the Catholic Church. The State-Church negotiations ended in failure in March, 1949. Slavkovská blames the bishops for this failure, accusing them of an unyielding and insincere stand toward the Communist regime. Actually, the Communist regime was interested only in subjugating the Church and not in any workable agreement. While the negotiations were still

going on, the Central Action Committee of the National Front in Prague and its branches throughout the whole country, together with other government agencies, systematically encroached ever more deeply on the rights of the Church.

In 1949, under various pretexts, the regime suppressed several monasteries and convents, confiscated many church buildings, and imprisoned a number of Catholic priests, both diocesan and religious, and Catholic laymen. Secret agents spied on all Catholic priests and members of religious orders and congregations. On the basis of her research, Slavkovská — perhaps unwittingly — gives an interesting report on this matter. She states that this surveillance of the priests by the state agencies resulted in putting the priests into four categories: reliable to the regime (13.21%); those with a positive stand toward the regime, but not unequivocally (15.65%); apolitical (28.65%); and unreliable (42.41%). According to Slavkovská, the Communist agents worked with the reliable priests and tried to influence those in the second and third categories.

The main part of the article is devoted to the so-called People's Catholic Action. Since the pontificate of Pius XI Catholic Action was an important means used by the Church to activate the faithful toward a deeper Christian life and to help priests bring Christian principles into family life and the whole of society. There was a well-organized Catholic Action in the Slovak dioceses and parishes under the supervision of the bishops and priests.

In their effort to destroy the Church organization in Czechoslovakia, the Communist agencies attempted to alienate the priests from their bishops and the lay people from the uncompromising priests. Since Catholic Action was basically a laymen's organization, the Communists convoked on June 10, 1949 a meeting of nominally Catholic lay people and several "reliable" priests in Prague. They established their own "People's Catholic Action." Its purported aim was to promote moral life in the family, support constructive efforts of the Czechoslovak government, prevent the persecution of priests loyal to the regime by their bishops, and eliminate all foreign interference in the Church matters of Czechoslovakia. In this vein they issued a Manifesto which was published in all newspapers and broadcast on the state radio. An intensive campaign for the signing of the Manifesto was conducted throughout the whole country. The bishops of Czechoslovakia were still able secretly

to meet and to issue a pastoral letter warning the people of the schismatic character of this spurious organization. On June 20, 1949, the Holy Office in Rome published a declaration by which all organizers and active members of the schismatic "Catholic Action" were automatically penalized with the highest ecclesiastical censure (excommunication reserved in a special way to the Holy See). Despite the frantic efforts of the Communist regime to win supporters for this anti-Church campaign, the "Catholic Action" movement soon became a complete fiasco. It caused a great turmoil throughout the whole country and in Slovakia strikes in several factories and confrontations with the state police. The Communist government had to retreat. It even called on the maligned bishops to send a letter to the faithful to calm them down and exhort them to return to their work. Slavkovská describes in detail the organizational structure of the "Catholic Action" and various meetings of its organizers, but fails to mention that almost from the beginning it was only a paper organization doomed to an early demise.

Still, the Communist government was not ready and willing to stop its efforts to subjugate the Church. With the failure of its "Catholic Action" it took a new approach in this direction. It decided to legalize its attempts to enslave the Church. In a Communist country the parliament is a rubber-stamp assembly which can be counted on to pass all legislation unanimously put before it by the Communist Party. On October 14, 1949, the Czechoslovak parliament enacted two laws which put the Church under the complete control of the state: Law No. 217/1949, which set up a State Agency for Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Law No. 218/1949 on the economic safeguarding of churches and religious bodies by the state. The State Agency for Ecclesiastical Affairs (and in Slovakia the Slovak Agency for Ecclesiastical Affairs) took control over all religious activities in the country. The second law gave the government all buildings of the churches and religious denominations and the exclusive right to grant (or take away) licenses to clergymen for performing their ministry after they had taken an oath of loyalty to the government, and to pay them salaries according to their rank, seniority, and efficiency.

The bishops first vehemently protested against this legalized enslavement of the Church. In the chaotic situation resulting from this new situation, they finally permitted their priests to take the prescribed oath with the mental reservation that they did not intend thereby to act against

the laws of God, the Church, and the legitimate ecclesiastical authorities. In that sense, several bishops in March and April of 1950 also took the oath of loyalty.

In that year (1950) of crude pressure on and persecution of the Church, the Communists rapidly proceeded in their efforts completely to subjugate the Church. They imprisoned or interned on trumped-up charges, or without any charges, several bishops (Josef Beran, Štěpán Trochta, Ján Vojtaššák, Stanislav Zela, Štefan Barnáš, Michal Buzalka, Pavel Gojdič, and Basil Hopko). In public trials in the national courts they condemned to long prison terms Bishops Vojtaššák, Gojdič, Buzalka, and Zela. Several representatives of larger religious orders and prominent prelates of Czechoslovakia were also publicly tried and condemned during this reign of terror. Still others were imprisoned and tried secretly. In the same year all monasteries, convents, and houses of religious orders and congregations were suppressed, and their members were confined to concentration houses. The Greek Catholic diocese of Prešov was fraudulently and forcibly taken over by Orthodox bishops. The legitimate bishops of the diocese, Pavel Gojdič and Basil Hopko, were imprisoned, and Greek Catholic priests, loyal to Rome, were dispersed throughout the country as manual workers.

Meanwhile, the Communists intensively worked on priests who showed an inclination to collaborate with the regime. First they established the organization of so-called patriotic priests, which later changed its name to "Peace Movement of the Catholic Priests." In the dioceses whose bishops were imprisoned they forced the elections of vicars capitular as heads of the dioceses. The remaining bishops were confined to their residences and were under the surveillance of government agents who controlled all the activities of legitimate ordinaries. Priest-collaborators intruded into the administration of the dioceses as vicars general, chancellors, and similar high officials.

Slavkovská hardly mentions these rude encroachments on the administration and the life of the Catholic Church in Slovakia. But she does try to justify all these cruel interferences of the Communist regime in the very structure of the Catholic Church and in the field of human rights of the Catholic clergy and people. In her evaluation, there was no persecution of the Church, only legitimate steps for eliminating political clericalism in Slovakia. She praises the anti-Church laws of 1949 because they granted adequate financial remuneration to the priests for

their work as state employees. Furthermore, she wantonly states that all these provisions were welcomed by the "lower clergy" and the Catholic people. Slavkovská does not realize, or does not want to admit, that the governmental mingling with the innermost Church affairs and the erection of the pro-Communist priestly organizations, established under government pressure and protected by it, brought about the grossest form of caesaropapism, incomparably more destructive to the Church than the purported political clericalism during the previous regimes.

In her article Slavkovská does not go as far as to the late sixties, to the Dubček era. As soon as the cruel pressure on the Church was lifted in 1968, the Catholics, led by their remaining bishops and priests loyal to the Church, publicly denounced the persecution of the past decades and demanded abolition of all the previous abuses against the Church. They were supported even by many high ranking Communists of that era (Ladislav Holdoš, Daniel Okáli, Erika Kadlecová, and others). They achieved the restoration of the Greek Catholic diocese of Prešov, the only seemingly permanent correction of the anti-Church abuses of the early fifties. Unfortunately, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August, 1968, and Husák's process of so-called normalization destroyed all other rights which the Church had regained during the short-lived period of the "Prague-Spring."

Book Reviews

Robin Okey. *Eastern Europe 1740-1980: Feudalism to Communism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982. 264 pp.

Attempting to write a general survey of Eastern European history is no mean task. Indeed, a comprehensive overview within the confines of a book numbering less than three hundred pages is altogether impossible. Robin Okey offers an alternative to this dilemma in the form of an interpretive study. The author indicates that his purpose is to "present a perspective rather than tell a story." Focusing on the twin themes of modernization and nationalism, he traces the evolution of the Central and Eastern European lands through two centuries of economic, political, and social change. It is his thesis that Eastern European nationalism arose as a response to the area's comparative backwardness in relation to the West.

In approaching this theme, Okey notes that feudalism came relatively late to this general area, and suggests that — at least until the sixteenth century — Eastern Europe enjoyed the potential of parallel development with Western Europe. He states, however, that domestic feudal forces were strong enough to reverse this trend. External forces — the Turkish invasion of the Balkans and Hungary and the Habsburg conquest of rebellious Bohemia — are also cited as instrumental factors. Eighteenth-century Eastern Europe is characterized as having regimes which were inefficient even by feudal standards. The peasantry bore the brunt of resultant deficiencies, but thriving popular cultures provided an impetus for future revival. Okey states categorically that the penetration of the Enlightenment represents the first stages of rapprochement with the West. In a number of instances the process was characterized by reform from above, although the role of the clergy is also cited. In the latter case, the author specifically mentions the Pole Konarski and the Serb Obradović; it is worth noting that Bernolák's contribution to the Slovak revival is omitted. The Eastern European Enlightenment faced the dilemma that the social premises of an alternative order were incomplete. Consequently, conservatives were more extreme and reformers more revolutionary than their counterparts in the West.

Liberalism in Eastern Europe differed from the West insofar as members of the nobility were heavily involved in a process which put them in opposition to their own social strata. Okey characterizes Eastern European liberalism as "an elusive, complex creed"; it shared the heavy emotionalism of ideas from other lands, but was only partially emancipated from native traditions. He objects to the Marxist view of nationalism as a creed devised by ambitious bourgeois elements; instead, he cites the role of professional scholars as the vanguard of the national movements. The 1848 revolutionary experience led to a clash between liberalism and nationalism; the former was instrumental in abolishing the last vestiges of serfdom, but also failed to satisfy the national aspirations of subject peoples. The balance of the nineteenth century is treated as a period of ideological fragmentation. The advance of industrial capitalism caused a reaction against liberalism on the part of the Right as well as the Left, and the continued rise of mass nationalism splintered existing political parties along ethnic lines. In assessing the downfall of the old order during World War I, Okey concedes that not all tendencies could be related to the national question. But he hastens to add that "only nationalism had a magnetism strong enough to draw the dislocated elements into an alternative political order — the pattern of nation-states."

Promoters of the new nation-states viewed their emergence as the culmination of humanist principles. Okey disagrees, and cites three general causes for the failure of Western-style liberalism in the interwar period. Most obviously, one of them is the continuity of ethnic conflict within the new states. Second, the Eastern European nations remained economically dependent on foreign capital. Finally, both the leaders of the new states and their opponents repudiated democracy in their approach to the outstanding problems of the times. Okey views interwar nationalism as "short-sighted rather than fundamentally misguided"; the outsider Hitler bore the greatest responsibility for the demise of these states. The author implies that national Communism was most successful in those countries where the Party remained in effective control of public life, and failed in Czechoslovakia because the regime capitulated ideologically to non-Party groups. Finally, Okey states that the rise of a mass intelligentsia and the emergence of common social problems with the West is indicative of a greater degree of syncopation.

For the student of Slovak history, this book might prove disappointing. Indeed, a genuine weakness may be found in the fact that Okey cites so few examples of the Slovak experience which provide important contrasts with certain patterns. Okey's contention that Eastern European society had already become "brutalized" during World War II, and that the Communists were tailor-made representatives of the new age, borders on conjecture. Although the position of the Jews in Slovakia was precarious during the war, they were

nevertheless afforded a certain "breathing space" denied to their kinsmen in Poland, and the average citizen of the Slovak Republic was by no means terrorized. It was only during the 1944 rising — in which Communists played a major role — that "brutalization" on a broad scale was affected. Okey's treatment of the "Prague Spring" also provides a case of omission: He correctly cites the straightjacket command economy model as a major factor in Novotný's demise, but mentions the Slovak opposition only as merely incidental.

But insofar as Slovakia may be viewed as an integral part of an Eastern European whole, this book has definite merit. It provides the reader with a concise, refreshing overview of the past two centuries, and the author skillfully employs anecdotal examples to compare and contrast specific national experiences. Okey's book is helpful to the student already well-grounded in general Eastern European history; it can also be useful to the instructor who wishes to convey a certain sense of ideological conflict inherent in the region.

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East Central Europe: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow. Edited by Milorad M. Drachkovitch. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1982. 417 pp.

Thirteen of the seventeen papers contained in this volume were presented at a conference organized by the Hoover Institution at Stanford University in January, 1980. Due to the events in Poland in August, 1980, publication of the symposium's proceedings was delayed so that individual authors could revise their contributions.

According to the editor, Milorad M. Drachkovitch, readers of the book "will not find in it any predictions" and "will be offered facts and explanations of recent events" (p. xi). This is true of most but not all of the essays. The latter are largely analytical and of uneven quality. Among the excellent contributions are Drachkovitch's survey of the postwar political and economic developments in Yugoslavia, Leszek Kolakowski's "Ideology in Eastern Europe," and the essays by John Erickson, Hugh Seton-Watson, Peter J. Wiles, and Richard F. Staar.

Also superb is the overview of developments in East Central Europe, "Present Situation and Principal Trends," by Robert F. Byrnes. He points out that "the opinions of even our most experienced analysts often reflect shallow historical knowledge, flighty analysis, and the assumption that peoples of this area are far less interested in independence and self-government than are West

Europeans and Americans" (p. 20). The flip-flops of George Kennan are cited as an example. Byrnes is a very perceptive observer who notices the connection between the election of Pope John Paul II, his visit to Poland in 1979, and the subsequent developments in that country. In contrast, the essay on Poland by Jan Tomasz Gross, "What Is Yet To Come," appears to be a rather superficial description of events leading up to the establishment of Solidarity in 1980, claiming that "the impossible was inevitable" (p. 321). In the last section of the essay Gross sketches two different scenarios: first, Soviet military intervention; second, the devolution of the Soviet imperium for which the price would be "most likely" the "neutralization of Germany through unification and detachment from the Atlantic Alliance" (p. 325). As it happened, the imposition of martial law in December 1981 proved his (and many other observers') projections incorrect.

On Alexander Dubček's behavior in 1968 Hugh Seton-Watson comments by asking a rhetorical question: How could the United States "defend people who would not defend themselves?" (p. 178). In contrast to it, Zdenek L. Suda, while concentrating mostly on the events in 1968, is very apologetic. He writes: "The peaceful counterrevolution in the very core of the Czechoslovak system must have caused more panic in Moscow than the armed insurgency of Hungarian workers and soldiers in October 1956" (p. 258). Suda's claim is an undocumented assumption without any foundation, and so is his interpretation of the events in Czechoslovakia when he writes that "the whole reform movement of 1968 could be defined simply as the application of rules and laws that long had been dead letters, but nevertheless existed. It was precisely this greater respect for legality and constitutionality that sounded an alarm in the Soviet power center and triggered the intervention" (p. 256). According to Suda, "the Czechoslovak case differs from the Polish case because the Polish reform experiment initiated in 1956 failed without direct Soviet intervention" (p. 252).

Suda does not differentiate between *intervention* and *invasion*. Soviet military presence in Poland ever since the end of World War II has constituted *intervention* and has made *invasion* unnecessary. In fact, an invasion would have been counterproductive from the Soviet point of view. In contrast to it, by *invading* Czechoslovakia in 1968 the Soviets have attained their military and strategic objectives. The "temporary" stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia has become "permanent." The events in Poland in the early 1980s corroborate the view that the Soviets had military and strategic reasons for the 1968 invasion and that the internal developments, which certainly did not amount to a "counterrevolution" as Suda and the Soviets claim, were merely a pretext for the action whose aim was to extract a "consent" from the Czech and Slovak Communist leaders to the stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. Labeling people as "neo-Stalinists" and "dogmatists," as

Suda does, is meaningless. His lack of knowledge of history is reflected in the essay. For example, he writes that "the division of the world between the two superpowers into spheres of interest — made the eventual integration of Czechoslovakia into the system controlled by the Soviets virtually inevitable" (p. 244). However, nothing was "inevitable" about the arrangements that Edvard Beneš made in Moscow in December, 1943. It was his decision to sign the treaty with the Soviet Union and to promise the Czech and Slovak Communist leaders in Moscow that their party would be the strongest element in the new regime and that he would always support it.

Indeed, Professor Byrnes' comment on the "shallow historical knowledge" and "flighty analysis," cited above, is applicable to the two essays by the two sociologists on Czechoslovakia and Poland published in this volume.

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Rudolf Krajčovič. *Svedectvo dejín o slovenčine*. 2nd edition, corrected. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1980. 268 pp.

The second edition of Krajčovič's collection of linguistic evidence for the Slovak language is essentially the same as the first of 1977. In these two editions, the compiler strives to offer proof that the Slovak language has its own long and distinctive history. He is intent on demonstrating that Slovak is a "language of written documents." He traces Slovak from the period of the Great Moravian Empire of the ninth century through the "twilight of Hungarian feudalism" in the nineteenth century. For the conclusion of his study, Krajčovič gives examples of present-day dialectical variations of the Slovak language. There are photographs of documents used as evidence. Especially when documents are in script, Krajčovič has the writings reproduced in printed form for easier appreciation. Interspersed among the evidence are black and white as well as colored illustrations of folk articles and paintings on a folk theme. The illustrations are the better to convey the atmosphere and period of the documents presented.

Documentary evidence from the early periods, namely from that of the Great Moravian Empire through that of the fifteenth century, is not really extensive. A historical linguist would find the material interesting, perhaps even intriguing, but not conclusive or even substantial for a judgment. From the sixteenth century onwards, the material offered as evidence is increasingly more substantive. Indeed, Krajčovič himself notes that the material from the sixteenth century is of "great significance," because this was "when Slovak was

for the first time committed to written form." The expression "written form" is perhaps a poor choice of phrasing. (The expression is found in the brief Slovak, Russian, as well as English introductions to the documentary evidence for this period.) For virtually all the examples of Slovak in this book are written. By the expression "written form," Krajčovič's probably means that the extant documentary instances of Slovak become more extensive and so more able to be appreciated linguistically. In focusing on this poor phrasing and its alleged implication, I do not intend to impugn the long history and distinctiveness of Slovak that Krajčovič desires so clearly to demonstrate in his book. The reader, nonetheless, cannot help feeling that Krajčovič is straining very hard to do this. On the whole, the book is more a nicely illustrated survey of the Slovak language for the layperson rather than a serious academic study for the specialist. With the Slovak language and its related culture appreciated so little outside of Slovakia and the Czech lands, Krajčovič's book could enhance to some degree a better understanding of this language and culture.

This second edition is a "corrected" version of the first. This correcting involves stylistic and typographical errors, but especially a few attributions that include additions, deletions, or actual corrections. For example, Krajčovič has deleted the attribution of the 1648 Trnava dictionary as one used for Virgil's *Aeneid*. The attribution of a folk article as coming from Kováčová pri Zvolene has been changed to Kráľová. Krajčovič has added the name of the Austrian author of Klimko's rendition of *Krizant und Daria* — Gottfried Uhlich, rendered by Krajčovič as Ulrich. Also, the English text has at times questionable diction and stylistic phrasing. The Russian text has been improved for this edition in various places. Neither language should offer problems in Slovakia, for there are native speakers as well as numerous specialists who could be consulted for a third edition. Finally, the bibliography for this edition has been expanded by one item. The price of this survey of the Slovak language has remained the same as for the earlier edition. This should make the book a readily purchasable acquisition for any individual or institution.

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Ľudovít Novák. *K najstarším dejinám slovenského jazyka*. Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1980. 352 pp.

This important study of the earliest history of the Slovak language evolved out of a plan by Ľudovít Novák in the 1930s to supply the most up-to-date, complete, and detailed presentation of Slovak phonology from its earliest begin-

nings. Methods of structural analysis were to be applied to the reconstructed phonologies of Slovak dialects. The original version was begun in the last months of 1938 and early 1939, a period of political turbulence. Over the intervening years, materials added to the original accumulated into several essays, thus resulting in two works. By reason of the amount of accumulated materials, a recent decision to publish this monograph from just the original alone was carried out. The value of the original as a linguistic landmark of the structural method in Slovakia was the deciding factor. Novák's later theories are to be published in a separate volume which will be entitled "Vznik Praslovanov a ich jazyka."

Four chapters in the book under review provide the most important linguistic phenomena in the development of the Slovak sound system, from the earliest period after the collapse of Common Slavic into the dialect differentiations of the Slovak area. They are: (a) the Slovak reflexes *rat-*, *lat-* from Proto-Slavic **ort-*, **olt-*; (b) alterations in the consonant clusters *dl*, *tl*, and *dn*; (c) reduced vowel "yer"-changes, the contraction phenomena, and the depalatalization of *e(č)»a*; and (d) the reconstruction of sound systems of Slovak dialects after the period of liquidation of Common Slavic correlations of "syllabic softening."

Novák is interested in whether (a) can be termed a "Yugoslavism" relating to a theory of colonization of Central Slovakia from the south. With respect to (b) he quotes rare documents of ancient dialect literature, gives phonetic and phonological explanations, with examples of geographic extension of changes in Western Slovak, and compares this with parallel types of like consonantal quantitative correlations in a non-Slavic language. For (c) the author defines the rapport of Central Slovak especially with East and Central Slavic languages, and refers to the chronology and localization of alterations in the Common Slavic dialect domain. Regarding (d) he concentrates first on the contraction phenomena in Central Slovak with its chronology and that of other Slavic dialects, and then of other West Slavic languages. He provides an argument for the explanation of the *ženou*-feminine-instrumental-singular type and a criticism of other theories.

Most of the phonological changes in Old Slovak are viewed as occurring due to certain influences of external languages or of internal dialects. His terminology illustrates certain developing periods of Old Slovak, for example, turkicizing, mongolization. The author maintains one of several possible theories in linguistic development. His is an attempt to overcome difficulties connected with the immanent development of the Slovak language.

Novák's structural approach as innovative and successful in the early period of linguistics is applauded by colleagues mentioned in the foreword. However, his early theory is criticized as "one-sided" for three main reasons: failure to

calculate the comparison of internal contradictions; overemphasis on phonology without consideration of grammatical, morphemic, morphological, or word-building structures as linguistic units; and finally a lack of regard for socio-linguistic changes.

Ludovít Novák is referred to as the "Nestor of Slovak Linguistics" (p. 9). This original work is viewed as a monument in the evolution of Slovak linguistics and is noteworthy, especially considering the period of its composition, the structural methods applied, with its new theoretical thought and insights. It is rightly considered the first synthetic conception of the earliest history of Slovak language founded on the development of the dialect sound systems.

The dedication of the book is symbolic of its apparent inherent worth. Honored are three famous contributors to Slovak linguistics: to the history of the Slovak language (Trubetzkoy); to the comparative history of Slovak and Czech languages (Travníček), and to the foundation of modern Slovak linguistic geography with its Slovak historical dialectology (Vážný). Novák has provided the first synthetic method of structural application to the historical phonology of Slovak, a structural linguistic milestone in Slovak language study.

JOHN M. KOCHIK

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František Kalesný. *Habáni na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Tatran, 1981. 376 pp.

Scattered today over the prairies of the United States and Canada can be found settlements of a people known as Hutterites or Hutterian Brethren. The Brethren still retain the German language of their forefathers and practice a strictly communitarian way of life. Their mode of collective farming is not the outcome of economic calculation; it results from the Hutterites' belief that Christ calls on his followers to renounce private property and have all things common. The Hutterites originated in the early 1530s as part of the Anabaptist movement that had begun in Central Europe around 1525. The Mennonites today also claim spiritual descent from this movement which represented a left wing of the Protestant Reformation. While only the Hutterites established community of goods, all its adherents practiced adult baptism (hence the name they acquired, Anabaptists) in order to stress the voluntary character of their believers' church, in which only grown persons could participate meaningfully.

As Dr. Kalesný remarks in the preface to his fascinating study of Hutterite history, few Slovaks know about the connection between the Hutterites and Slovakia, where they lived for over two hundred years. The descendants of those Hutterites, who in the mid-eighteenth century accepted forced

recatholicization rather than have to emigrate, eventually lost their German speech and are today completely assimilated to the Slovak population. If memories of the Hutterites grew dim, the name which their Slovak neighbors gave these German settlers, "Habans" (*Habáni, Habaner*), has become widely known on account of the beautiful ceramics produced by the Hutterite communities and their successors. These are now valued possessions of the museums of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and examples of the art form are also to be found elsewhere. Haban folk art, according to Kalesný (p.12), should be reckoned as an important asset of Slovak "national culture," for it was produced on the soil of Slovakia by people who, although of foreign origin, had put down deep roots there.

The book, which is a work of scholarship even though it lacks footnotes, is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the history of the Hutterite communities from their inception down to the present day, with most attention given to their sojourn in northwest Hungary (present-day Slovakia). They first set up communities there around 1545: Their chief settlement and the seat of their "bishop" was at Sobotište. As in Moravia where the sect had started, here too its adherents were welcomed by the landowning nobility, Catholic as well as Protestant, who valued the Hutterites as hardworking and profitable tenants and consequently were prepared to overlook their religious peculiarities. After the battle of White Mountain in 1620 the Habsburg ruler drove them out of Moravia, but the Moravian brethren also found a refuge on the estates of friendly Hungarian landowners. The endemic warfare of the seventeenth century when Turkish, Habsburg, and *kuruc* forces ravaged the Slovak countryside inflicted terrible suffering on the local population, including the Hutterites. On the eve of the disaster of 1620 the Hutterites in Moravia and Slovakia had numbered about 25,000 persons, a tenfold increase since 1545, which was due to the steady stream of newcomers from the Tyrol and other parts of Central Europe seeking to join the brotherhood. Almost all these were of German speech, but a few adherents were of local origin. On page 46, for instance, Kalesný mentions "Wendel Holba ein Schlawak (*Vendel Holba, Slovák*)," who even became a Hutterite minister. Whereas in north Hungary the Hutterites abandoned their communitarian way of life in 1685 and were recatholicized under Maria Theresa in the next century (while still retaining for some time their separate legal identity as *Habaner*), in Transsylvania — where some Hutterites had settled in 1621 — they continued to lead the same life as before, until finally in 1767 the authorities expelled those who would not conform. Kalesný chronicles briefly their subsequent wanderings, first via Wallachia to the Ukraine where they arrived in 1770 and then in 1874 across the Atlantic and on to the American West. After World War I most of the Hutterites moved across the border into Canada. Their later migrations stemmed not from

religious persecution but from the threat posed to their pacifist principles by the introduction of universal military service.

Kalesný prefaces his historical narrative, which for the most part does not add to what we already know, by an interesting discussion of the name *habán*, the first authenticated mention of which occurs in a document of 1667 now in the municipal archives of Bratislava. Originally a derogatory term, it eventually lost its pejorative connotation and became the accepted way of describing the descendants of the former communitarians. Concerning the origin of the word no consensus exists among scholars. The latest theory is that of a German scholar who derives it from the Hebrew. Despite what the résumés say, Kalesný seems to be somewhat sceptical about this.

If the author deals rather briefly with the religious aspects of the Hutterite way of life, he devotes almost the whole of the second part of the book to their social organization. The overwhelming majority of community members were artisans: Over forty crafts were being practiced when the communities were at their peak. Of course, they also engaged in farming, which today is the chief occupation of the Hutterites. A strict discipline was imposed on members, expulsion from the brotherhood being the final sanction against those who did not conform. But this was not usually necessary since the brethren recognized the advantages of communal living over those of the outside world, despite any momentary attraction they might feel toward the latter. "The Hutterites had succeeded in creating an ordered society, socially egalitarian and materially secure, with high moral principles based on the community" (p. 169). Children of both sexes were taught at least to read and write — in an age when illiteracy prevailed among the masses. Great care was taken, too, to provide for the sick and aged, for pregnant women and for children of preschool age. The culture was perhaps narrow and the authority of the elders excessive, but this must be judged within the context of the times.

Purely aesthetic values found no place among Hutterites. Yet their craftsmen succeeded in creating countless objects of beauty either for domestic use or for sale: Their pottery became famous throughout east central Europe and was eagerly bought up by the nobility and wealthy townspeople of the area. Kalesný, whose specialty is folk art, devotes the third part of his book to the history and technology of "Haban" pottery. The making of faience, their most highly prized product, had been introduced into the Hutterite communities around 1580 by Anabaptist immigrants from northeast Italy. Kalesný has included at the end 109 full-page colored illustrations of ceramics emanating from "Haban" workshops.

The bibliography includes many items in Slovak, Czech, and Hungarian that are unknown to North American scholars who have written on the Hutterites. Many of these pieces, it is true, deal with "Haban" ceramics, but some

are of more general interest. Kalesný, on the other hand, has obviously had difficulty in gaining access to scholarship in the West. He knows the work of the Mennonite sociologist, John A. Hostetler. But he does not, for example, appear to be acquainted either with the valuable study by another Mennonite scholar, Victor J. Peters, *All Things Common: The Hutterian Way of Life* (Minneapolis, 1965), or with the numerous articles published in the United States by the leading authority on Hutterite history and culture, the late Robert Friedmann. Many of them were reprinted in his *Hutterite Studies* (Goshen, Indiana, 1961). Let us hope that in future closer contacts can be established in the field of Hutterite studies between North American scholars and those working in Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Kalesný is perhaps lucky in dealing with a group like the Hutterites who, while deeply religious, have at the same time been dedicated "communists," albeit of the Utopian variety. The Tatran press was able (so to speak) to roll out the red carpet for him. It has published a volume that, with its excellent paper, numerous illustrations, and tasteful design, is indeed a credit to book production in Slovakia.

PETER BROCK
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August A. Skodacek. *Lutherans in Slovakia*. Pittsburgh: Slavia Printing Company, 1982. 242 pp.

This account of the rise and development of the Lutheran Church in Slovakia from the Reformation to the present redresses the oversight of many concerning the role of the Lutheran Church in the historical development of Slovakia. This may be a flaw. The author would have us understand that Slovakia's history in modern times is a consequence not only of the Reformation but also of the influence of Lutheranism in Slovak social and political struggles. However, Skodacek does not sufficiently analyze the historical facts and circumstances to judge whether his claim, that without Lutheranism modern Slovakia would not be, is warranted.

Skodacek chronicles the fate and fortune of Lutheranism in terms of fates and fortunes of the group's leaders. As they fared, so fared their group. Thus, this is a history of an institutional church and its great men from a perspective of within the group. It uses synodical records to illustrate the response of the Lutheran Church in Slovakia to outside social and political forces, namely the Roman Catholic Church, the Jesuits, and the various rulers allied with those two groups. Since there is little in-depth analysis, this essay does not offer any new insights into the causes of many of the events chronicled.

In the main, it is a hagiographic account extolling historical individuals for their virtues and deeds done in the name of the cause. In describing the influences of a Thurzo, Lani, or Krman and others, Skodacek, interestingly enough, sees them as the real descendants of the missionaries Cyril and Methodius. Just as Cyril and Methodius introduced the Slavs to Christianity and hence to civilization (of a kind), so too the followers of Luther reintroduced Christianity and civilization to Slovakia even to the point of generating and maintaining a consciousness of Slovak nationalism. To this point, Skodacek writes that “the Reformation activated a conversion in Slovakia which gradually brought into the open a Slovak nationality; it spread the reformational ideology in an understandable native language and a democratic religious life” (p. 66).

Be this as it may, the book is a good source for anyone who wishes to do research in Slovak history but who does not know the necessary languages. The volume provides translations of records and documents of the various synodical events which figured large in the life of the Slovak Lutheran Church.

This point notwithstanding, it is unfortunate that Skodacek did not see fit to describe and analyze the historical dynamics of the sociocultural and political forces beyond the activities of the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics. Not everyone, despite Skodacek’s claim, was either a Lutheran or Roman Catholic. Some were Greek Catholic and some were Calvinists. These are never mentioned. Also, not everyone living in Slovakia was either a Slovak or a German. Another missing analytical point is that of socioeconomic class; from what class did the Lutheran leadership come? It is on these points that Skodacek could have given us some insight; perhaps he will in another book.

Although this volume is a good in-house version of a historical period and of what happened to the Lutherans in Slovakia, the lack of analysis of the sociocultural and political dynamics limits its effectiveness.

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Paul Robert Magocsi. *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978. 650 pp.

Paul R. Magocsi. *The Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia: An Historical Survey*. Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller Universitäts-Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1983. 94 pp.

The first of Professor Magocsi’s books is the one we all dream of writing. The fruit of years of research, it is encyclopedic in its description of the cul-

tural and political development of the territory which made up Subcarpathian Ruthenia in the first Czechoslovak Republic. He has used a rich array of sources — archives, published statistics, interviews, and most books and articles relating to the subject. It will stand for decades to come as the basic reference work. Graduate students will be surprised to find a detached, objective approach in a volume devoted to an East European nationality group of less than a million people. It will be a required presence in the library of everyone who calls himself an East European historian. Slovakists, in particular, will welcome Magocsi's dispassionate understanding of the sensibilities of the ripening Slovak national identity in Eastern Slovakia.

The text is divided into three parts. The first covers political and cultural history until 1918. The second examines history, language, literature, education, and religion between 1918 and 1944. The final part discusses the political history from the end of World War I to the incorporation of the territory into the Ukrainian Soviet Republic at the end of World War II. This is followed by 4 appendices (82 pages), notes (106 pages), and bibliography (122 pages).

In his introduction, Magocsi promises to analyze how one ethnic group was exposed to nationalism and how its leaders presented this new ideology to their people. He points out that the leaders in what he calls "an embryonic state of national development" still did not agree on which national orientation to follow — Rusyn, Hungarian, Slovak (and/or Czech), Ukrainian, or Russian. He then describes the elimination of each alternative until only Ukrainian was left.

With such a rich and well-organized presentation of data, it must seem churlish for a reviewer to take issue with the author. And yet one has the impression that the author's desire to include every last piece of information has distracted him from his original intention of trying to discover the underlying reasons for the final victory of the Ukrainian orientation. The book becomes finally a traditional approach to East European history, albeit without the partisan coloring which usually characterizes such work. He outlines the failure of leaders of certain national orientations to attract adherents, or their willingness to sacrifice national for political gain. He finds external factors decisive in determining that the territory would eventually become Ukrainian.

In an area with such an embryonic ethnic and national identity, it seems odd that Magocsi limited his book territorially, according to political boundaries which existed for only two decades. The fault may lie in his definition of ethnic group as a population that "in most cases possesses a distinct territory, common traditions, and related dialects."

Although he pays homage to the theories of Karl Deutsch on nationalism and social communication, he fails in large part to apply them. He looks at the intelligentsia in action, but not the intelligentsia in formation. It would

have been possible, for instance, to examine the changing national composition of the students in the high schools (*gymnáziá*) over time and through the various grades. This might have suggested underlying trends in national identification. Magocsi is quite right in saying it is impossible to explain why individuals join differing national orientations, but the totality of the changes can be very informative. It is quite conceivable that the socioeconomic development in the interwar period showed a trend toward a Ukrainian identity. This would help explain why the Soviet regime met so little opposition when it assigned a Ukrainian identification to the population at the end of the war.

After the depth of research and evaluation which characterized the first book, the second volume is a disappointment. While those interested in Slovak history will find useful material here on the political, socioeconomic, and cultural history of what Magocsi calls the "Rusyn-Ukrainians" of Czechoslovakia, there also is a disappointing tendency to blame every difficulty faced by this national grouping on national discrimination. This stands in considerable contrast to his conclusion (p. 270) in the larger volume.

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Jubileá Matici slovenskej. Compiled by Vojtech Šarluška. "Séria: Monografie — Výskum dejín Matici slovenskej, zv. 9." Martin: Matica slovenská, 1980. 130 pp.

The volume under review is a compendium of articles resulting from a seminar devoted to the commemoration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Matica slovenská's reconstitution (1919) and its silver anniversary as the Slovak National Library (1954). The essays discuss various aspects of the Matica's present contributions in the fields of research and education. Themes analyzed include: the Matica's efforts in library acquisition, preservation, and dissemination; planning and organization of its activities and resources; bibliographic development over the past quarter century; activities of the Literary Archives; programs of the Literary Museum; efforts of the Biographical Office; activities of the Matica's Office of Slovaks Abroad; and the Matica's publishing activities.

The section prepared by Štefan Krivuš, the Matica's present director, sets the tone for the other essays. Krivuš traces the Matica's history through interwar Czechoslovakia, its activities during World War II, its place in the resurrected Republic, and its role in Socialist Slovakia. He describes each period as a step in the Matica's maturation process. Both Krivuš and the other contributors make it quite clear that the Matica of 1979 is not the Matica of 1919;

it has continually changed in response to the demands placed on it as Slovakia's premier national cultural institution.

It is a pity that this publication, which offers much valuable information on the Matica slovenská's vital role in past and contemporary Slovak cultural life, was printed in a limited edition and "only for internal use" by professional scholars, thus making it unavailable to the much wider readership which it deserves.

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Il mondo slavo. Saggi e contributi slavistici a cura del Centro Studi Europa Orientale di Padova. Volume VIII. Edited by Milan S. Ďurica. Padova: CESEO-Liviana, 1982. 318 pp.

Professor Milan S. Ďurica has taken the opportunity of his editorship of this volume of *Il mondo slavo* to present a number of studies which help to identify Slovak ethnic consciousness in its language and history and to distinguish it clearly from assimilative Czechoslovak linguistic and political tendencies. In his own article, which offers a historical-philological profile of the Slovak language, he traces the evolution of the Slovak language in Slavic ethnogeny. The Slovak glottogenetic process of isoglosses is delineable on Slovak ethnic territory. This position is buttressed by (1) Slovakocentricity — the expression of geometric distance proportional to linguistic elements and (2) the most recent studies on fundamental Slavic lexical patrimony revealing its highest in Slovak. Ďurica's 'profile' establishes that the research of historical and comparative lexicology fortifies the theory of the Slovak proto-Slavic glottogenesis. His synthesis of recent research is a valuable contribution to the thesis that Slovak is an independent Slavic language.

Štefan Vragaš presents historical and linguistic highlights of the development of the Slovak literary language from 1918 to 1979. A significant portion of his article centers on the linguistic politics of "Czechoslovakism," i.e., the linguistic and political claim of *one* Czechoslovak language and nation, in opposition to any contention of *one* separate and individual Slovak language and nation. The author demonstrates that Slovak experts succeeded in counteracting the opposition by applying the facts of history to linguistics and courageously weathering political humiliations as did, for example, Ľudovít Novák, author of *K najstarším dejinám slovenského jazyka*. Vragaš must be commended for his definition of Czechoslovakism and for his timely exposition of some generally unknown linguistic-political humiliations of Slovak scholars, especially in the 1950s and part of the 1960s.

The history of Slovak translations on Slovak ethnic territory to 1939 is the subject of the article by Agostino Visco. Brief mention is made of translations into contemporary Slavic during the Great Moravian era and some initial translations into Latin. It was not until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that extensive translation was made from Latin into the Slovak national language, mainly by Catholics. From Greek and Latin some classics and religious works were translated: ancient poetry, meditations, the Bible. Later, translations began from West European authors, then from East European ones, until the abortive years 1848-1849, when translations declined. After 1918 and in the early twentieth century translations resumed. They steadily progressed after 1933, when the Matica slovenská established a translation group, thus institutionalizing and perfecting translations. Visco considers the Slovak Republic era (1939-1945) as the most important period for translations. Inasmuch as translations have so much influenced both Slovak poetry and prose, they represent an important facet of Slovak literature.

Mirella De Martini Tihany examines the emigration of Italian laborers from Venetia and Lombardy to Slovakia in the second half of the nineteenth century. Parish registers of Slovak localities along the main railroad line from Košice (Slovakia) to Bohumín (Moravia) are the principal sources of research, especially those found in the State and District Archives of Bytča. Because of mineral transports from central Slovakia, railroads were needed in Slovakia. Historically, the Košice-Bohumín line construction in 1870 was urgent for connecting eastern Slovakia with Berlin. In this construction, the temporary Italian immigration initially entered. For some workers it meant death from epidemic, for others it was an occasion for marriage and baptisms. In her article Tihanyi provides a brief insight into Slovak interaction with the emigrants and also a sad commentary on the plight of Italian workers neglected by their non-Slovak contractors.

Finally, Lisa Guarda Nardini considers the sole syndicate in Czechoslovakia, the "ROH" — Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. It is studied as an exemplary illustration of the statute of the organization which institutionally represents all workers in a country which claims that labor is paramount and the workers govern. The author proceeds from a relatively brief introduction about members, duties, structure, and other considerations to a translation of the ROH statute with its fifty articles. The merit of this article is the translation of the ROH statute into Italian from Slovak.

Volume III of *Il mondo slavo* can be recommended to the readers of *Slovakia* for its wealth of information on fascinating Slovak topics.

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Josef Korbel. *Twentieth-Century Czechoslovakia: The Meanings of Its History.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1977. 346 pp.

A rich and varied background prepared the late Professor Josef Korbel for this twentieth-century history of a small country in Central Europe. He was closely associated with the University of Denver, where he served as Dean of the Graduate School of International Studies, Director of the Social Science Foundation, and Andrew W. Mellon Professor of International Studies. He was the author of several books on Central Europe. Prior to his academic career, Korbel had been the Czechoslovak ambassador to Yugoslavia. He also had held a number of other important diplomatic posts and was a personal acquaintance of both Edvard Beneš and Jan Masaryk.

Twentieth-Century Czechoslovakia begins with the Hussite period. By tracing the "roots" of Czech thought from Jan Hus to the subsequent suppression by the Catholic Habsburgs, and through the era of the Enlightenment, the author demonstrates how the Czech ideal of humanity evolved. He compares concepts derived from František Palacký and Karel Havlíček to Tomáš G. Masaryk's "Czech humanism." All three were witnesses to the Hussite influence.

A quick glance at opposing interpretations of Czech history by Josef Pekař and Ferdinand Peroutka and their criticism of T.G. Masaryk's philosophy leads Korbel to the observation that "in times of assured statehood the Czech people strove for the ideals of humanity; in times of peril, they lowered their heads to save the national body" (p. 24). Korbel expands this thought throughout the rest of the book.

Beginning with July 6, 1915, the 500th anniversary of the death of Jan Hus, Tomáš G. Masaryk is depicted as voicing a vision about to become a reality. As the author discusses the historical formation of Czechoslovakia, he dwells primarily on the Czech leadership. He skillfully paints portraits of national hopes, problems of administration, mistakes in judgment, and fears for the future. Throughout the twenties and thirties these events led to the final breakup of the first Czechoslovakia. By analyzing the Munich crisis and World War II as it affected this Central European victim state, Korbel clearly shows that the Czechs "lowered their heads to save the national body." As he searches for the meaning of the postwar years in the revitalized Czechoslovak state, he refers to them as "The Sisyphean Years," the title of his last and perhaps most intriguing chapter. With T.G. Masaryk, he believes that "the nation will take up again its active role in mankind's never-ending struggle for freedom and social justice" (p. 320).

Written in an engaging style, Korbel's story of Czechoslovakia's rise and fall will fascinate not only the student of history but also any reader interested

in learning about Central Europe during the twentieth century. Unfortunately, the author does exhibit a bias against the Slovaks. This is especially apparent in his reference to the well-loved and respected Slovak leader Father Andrej Hlinka as being "fanatic." Furthermore, while the Czechoslovak state could not exist without the Slovaks, Korbel devotes a mere 25-30 pages to them in a book of 346 pages. His admiration for Tomáš G. Masaryk is deep, his respect for Jan Masaryk is genuine, and his evaluation of Edvard Beneš appears objective. Had it been possible to apply historical honesty to all aspects of Czechoslovakia's growth from its inception to its dissolution and rebirth, such an account might have added significantly to the rapidly increasing literature in that area of research. One can only conclude that this historical account was written from the so-called Czechoslovak point of view. If this is understood, the reader will enjoy *Twentieth-Century Czechoslovakia* but will continue to look for "The Meanings of Its History" in other books dealing far more adequately with Slovakia and the Slovaks.

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Martin R. Myant. *Socialism and Democracy in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1948.*
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981. 302 pp.

The three years that preceded the Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia at the end of the Second World War have been generally understood in the West as a lull in which all the indications of what would happen in February 1948 were present. Although Martin Myant does not contradict this approach, he offers in this study, above all, an examination of the political situation in Czechoslovakia in which the Communist Party was just one of many players until mid-1947, when a power struggle erupted leading to the Communist victory a few months later. What we have here, according to the author, is a polity which sought to achieve a socialist society by democratic means. It is an interesting thesis that reflects to a great extent the approach that Communist scholars took to this period in the 1960s and which found some sympathy among Western scholars.

The book is divided into ten chapters that begin with a rapid overview of the development of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. The next five chapters are devoted to an analysis of the political situation in the Czech lands, with one chapter on Slovakia. In three more chapters the author looks at the power struggle which culminated in the February crisis. The final chapter

examines post-February Czechoslovakia, in particular those events that announced the imposition of a more radical line by the Kremlin.

It is clear from Myant's story that World War II had brought about major changes in the Czech lands. In the postwar world, Czech political life reflected a general consensus that Czech society wanted its government to implement socialist changes because the prewar order had been destroyed during the hostilities. As an organized resistance group, the Communists played a major part in setting the framework for a socialist transformation. They were by far the most cohesive and organized party. Until mid-1947 they were also willing to collaborate — and indeed did so — with the non-Communist parties in implementing new policies. The author gives a thorough analysis not only of the platforms of all parties, but also of the political activities of the Communist Party. When the struggle for power broke out, the Communists aimed at nothing more than victory and then used whatever means they could get away with to achieve that end. But for Myant — unlike for Paul Zinner and Josef Korbel, who also wrote on this period — the interest lies in the pre-mid 1947 period where, as he writes, "for all its faults, the National Front system established in May 1945 provided a possible basis for the development of socialism in Czechoslovakia" (p. 242).

Despite the author's thorough analysis, this reviewer is not convinced that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia could have played according to democratic rules in an advanced society. Although Myant attributes the shift that occurred in mid-1947 to the international situation and Cominform directives, the fact remains that the Communist Party was willing in the last analysis to abandon democratic means in favor of one-party rule. There is no evidence that the Party offered the Kremlin any resistance. Had its commitment to democracy really existed, it could have defied Moscow since there were no Soviet troops in the country and it is doubtful that Moscow would have risked a war to impose its will. The pre-mid-1947 experience may be interesting for those who still hanker after a form of "democratic socialism"; for me it merely shows that a Communist Party will also play the democratic game if it brings it closer to its goal of total power, but it does not show a commitment to democracy.

The author's treatment of Slovakia is inadequate. He approaches it from the same point of view as the Czech lands, namely that the Slovaks were also headed for socialist transformation. To take this approach is to ignore not only the legacy of prewar Slovak politics, but also the major impact the Slovak Republic had on the Slovaks. His accusation that Slovakia was backward is both unfair and unfortunate; it is a Czech point of view that was articulated quite openly from 1945 on, especially in the Communist Party. This view was also imposed on Slovak Communists, who accepted it after their defeat in the May 1946 elections. The author does, however, point out that the Communist

Party was unwilling to embark on a different and distinct Slovak policy, if only not to alienate its Czech constituency.

The position of Slovakia in postwar Czechoslovakia was very critical. Forced without consultation into a state where they would be a minority, Slovaks then saw most instruments of autonomous government progressively taken away from them. The non-Communist leadership was weak and faced not only Communist opposition but also Czech resistance to any status beyond minimal autonomy. Thus Slovak political life centered once again on Slovakia's role in Czechoslovakia, not on socialist transformation. As time went on, it was clear to most Slovaks that they mattered very little in Czechoslovak politics and were expected to be merely compliant to Prague. In this respect, Myant writes unfairly about President Tiso's execution in 1947 that "its announcement in Slovakia was met with no visible unrest" (p. 158). The truth of the matter is that the army and Czech police had been sent to Slovakia to make sure that there was no unrest. For the same reason the attempted Communist coup in Bratislava failed that autumn. The game had to be played out in Prague.

This is a well-researched study that is thorough in its presentation for the Czech lands. It is highly unsatisfactory for Slovakia. For this reason, as well as the author's ideological predilections, it is regrettably incomplete and, therefore, disappointing.

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Léon Noël. *La Tchécoslovaquie d'avant Munich*. Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1982. 208 pp.

J.F.N. Bradley. *Politics in Czechoslovakia, 1945-1971*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981. 225 pp.

There are few Central European states that have had as turbulent a history as Czechoslovakia. It was created by the Western Powers on the morrow of World War I, only to be abandoned two decades later to German expansionism and another ten years later to Soviet imperialism. Paradoxically, Western scholarship has yet to produce a good history on either the First Republic or on the postwar Communist period. The two volumes under review, while they seek to give us an overview of each period, are also unsatisfactory.

Léon Noël was France's Minister to Czechoslovakia from 1932 to 1935. His book constitutes a sort of memoir of the three years he spent in Prague. To this account he added a few chapters that deal with the origins of the state,

some of its leading personalities, the Slovaks, the Germans and the Hungarians, the Catholic Church, and the political parties. None is very good, and the chapters on the Slovaks and the political parties are particularly poor.

It becomes quickly very clear that this French diplomat understood very little the country in which he represented France. The main impression that one gets is that he was interested above all in maintaining excellent diplomatic relations between Prague and Paris. This he seems to have done, given the number of positive comments about himself by Czechoslovakia's leaders that he quotes. But one does not get any idea what were the main currents in Franco-Czechoslovak relations. It is only when he evaluates the leading personalities in Prague of the common state of the Czechs and Slovaks that he is interesting. That is one of the redeeming features of his book.

If this book is at all interesting, it is because it reflects French perceptions of Czechoslovakia in the interwar period. The state was to a great extent a French creation, and Czechoslovakia's centralist system of government was modelled on that of France. Paris supported Prague on the German and the Slovak questions with the result that neither French diplomats nor French scholars paid any attention to anyone but the Czechs and accepted everything Prague told them. Noël's book is therefore not different from those published in the interwar years. It is a pity that he did not learn from subsequent events about which much has been written to give us a more critical appreciation of the country where he clearly spent three interesting years of his life.

The Bradley volume is more in line with contemporary scholarship. But it is a peculiar book. The author has done some thorough research in a number of areas, yet he does not succeed in giving us an adequate overall picture of Communist politics in Czechoslovakia. The greatest flaw is his lack of treatment of the Slovak question, which he does not seem to have understood at all.

There are two themes to the book: government and politics. The author gives a thorough description of Czechoslovakia's Communist government structure, examining in turn its constitutions, parliaments, governments, the judiciary, and security. His chapter on the central government for 1948-1968 is rather good. He analyzes well the main problems of any Communist government, namely political domination and efficient administration. As he points out: "Even the most capable administrators among these politicans would have found it impossible to run central ministries efficiently with the politically-reliable but administratively unfit officials at their disposal" (p. 123).

When it comes to analyzing Communist politics, the author devotes only two chapters, one on the Dubček era and the other on the Husák period of normalization. Both are somewhat disappointing. The overall result is that at the end of the book the reader is still left wondering what Czechoslovak politics were all about for the period 1948-1971.

The major flaw of Bradley's book is its treatment of the Slovak question. Clearly the author belongs to that category of Western scholars who do not consider Czech-Slovak relations to have been, and still to be, the focal point of the survival of the common state of these two nations. It is not surprising to come across such a statement as: "The Slovaks, who had apparently been enjoying equality and autonomy since 1948, began to voice their demands for new constitutional arrangements within the Czechoslovak Republic" (p. 183), with no further explanation. The final chapter, on Husák's federalism, is also inadequate in analyzing the new relationship between the two nations, let alone explaining why this formerly centralist state had been transformed into a federation.

Neither book fulfills the mission its title suggests. Nevertheless in each there are some aspects of interest which may help the specialist and the interested reader on Czechoslovakia to get a better insight into this troubled common state of the Czechs and Slovaks.

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Zdenek L. Suda. *Zealots and Rebels: A History of the Ruling Communist Party of Czechoslovakia*. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1980.
412 pp.

This first history of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in English, from its beginnings in November, 1917, in Revolutionary Russia and its foundation in November, 1921, up to the late 1970s, is an impressive achievement. Professor Suda, a sociologist at the University in Pittsburgh, selected some of the best scholarly works written in the West on various topics or periods of his target and complemented them with a few basic books and articles published at different times in Czechoslovakia. Although his opus is based almost exclusively on secondary sources and, surprisingly, does not even mention authors whose work should have been consulted (e.g., Machonin, Borkenau, Tabor-ský, Zinner, Horák, Jancar, Korbel, Tigrid), it is worth reading and including in private as well as public libraries. It is a solid work and excels in its capable and systematic review of major events in the history of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Its organization is clear, and the writer consistently pays attention to domestic developments as well as to Soviet or other Communist parties' history. In Suda's concluding words, what matters is "the development of the Soviet core to which the CPCS, for the greater part of its existence, has only been peripheral" (p. 380).

Suda's main contribution is to be found in his judicious summary of some sixty years in the life of a movement, in his sensible comments, and in his perspicuous analysis.

One half of the book is devoted to the Party's history before it came to power in 1945. There is a certain imbalance in Suda's treatment of the foundation of the CPCS (50 pages) or of its history until 1929 (70 pages) and his discussion of the crucial year of 1968 (only 20 pages). The later story is much better known than the first two so that it does not constitute any major weakness, especially since the author keeps stressing interesting parallels between different periods of Party history. Basically, it was and is a foreign element brought into a state whose traditions, both cultural and political, have been at variance with it.

Suda devotes a substantial part of his book to developments in the Communist Party of Slovakia and to its asymmetric position in a basically centralist party and state. He rightly considers the unsolved problems of national minorities — and many Slovaks refused to think of themselves as equal partners in a "Czechoslovak" nation — to be the weak point of the whole edifice. The German problem is also systematically studied, and so are the Hungarian and Ruthenian ethnic communities. Paradoxically, even the establishment of a federal state in 1968 did not put an end to Prague centralism, although the general secretary of the Party since 1968 has been a Slovak.

The lack of a detailed study of primary sources and of many crucial scholarly works, unfortunately, is responsible for some, mostly minor, mistakes in an otherwise well-printed and well-proofread work. For instance, Trotsky's secret message to disarm the Czechoslovak Corps in Russia is not mentioned; Tomáš G. Masaryk is wrongly characterized as "never a socialist" (p. 12); the important role of General Vlasov and his armed units in the Prague uprising in 1945 is omitted; for some reason, the Cominform and Comintern are both spelled with a 'K'; there is nothing on substantial workers' unrest in 1948 and 1949; Richta's leadership of a scientific Party commission is assigned to Mlynář, who was in charge of another one about whose existence the author does not seem to have known (p. 328); the Manifesto of 2000 Words was published simultaneously in four Prague papers and not just in one (p. 391) — a fact which was important for the Soviet audience since the pressure group was clearly well organized! Furthermore, the periodical *Listy* was not a "bi-monthly" (p. 367) but rather appeared monthly. In disagreement with the author's statement on page 261, Zápotocký was criticized at Politboro meetings for his relaxation of forced collectivization of agriculture. What is more important, Suda sometimes accepts the terminology of his Communist sources and then refers, for instance, to the "progressive elite" (p. 120) when he discusses individuals who were responsible for bringing shame and enslavement.

ment upon their own nations. Although the author believes that only a small minority of Social Democrats refused to join the CPCS in the year of forced amalgamation (p. 225), the truth is that less than one third of them joined the Communist Party! Also, his description of workers' acceptance of the Slánský trial is only partially true because, according even to Communist sources, after the initial passage of favorable resolutions, there was resolute criticism of the whole Party and state leadership, often calling for their dismissal. Finally, the 1968 meetings at Čierna nad Tisou did not take place in the Soviet train (p. 340) but — with the exception of Dubček's visit to the "ailing" Brezhev — in a railwaymen's club on Czechoslovak territory. There is a good analysis of voting patterns in 1925 but, somewhat surprisingly for a sociologist, the author does not include any analysis and statistics (which are available) of the social or class composition of the CPCS in its period of absolute power. All these and a few other errors and omissions can be easily corrected in an eventual second edition of this pioneering and generally very successful work.

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František Bielik a kolektív. *Slováci vo svete*. Volume II. Martin: Matica slovenská, 1980. 320 pp.

This second volume of *Slováci vo svete* is a general survey of pre-World War II Slovak immigration to countries throughout the world. It is a collaborative effort. However, except for the separate sections on Slovak immigrant culture and involvement in labor activities in the United States and the Slovak immigration to Canada and France, František Bielik is the principal author of the book. Bielik first discusses the general causes of Slovak emigration and its impact on Hungary and later Czechoslovakia. The work is then divided into geographical categories by country. Within each geographical division, the authors adopt a standard, almost monotonous, procedure of chronicling the formation and sporadic activities of various Slovak organizations. They provide brief descriptions of Slovak fraternal societies, schools, newspapers, labor organizations, and cultural associations. In addition, they discuss the political and labor activities of some Slovak immigrants in the different countries.

Slováci vo svete is a useful addition to the literature on Slovak immigration, because it contains tables and statistics as well as literary material that have not been readily available in a single source. The inclusion of sources would have improved the usefulness of the tables. The work is also important

because it offers some different perspectives on the Slovak immigration experience. For example, Bielik properly stresses that the United States was the major but not the sole destination of Slovak emigrants. To emphasize this point, the book includes brief sketches of Slovak immigration to New Zealand, Asia, and Africa — countries not commonly associated with the Slovak emigration movement. Also, by discussing Slovak involvement in labor unions and Socialist organizations, the authors offer a different profile of Slovak immigrant laborers than that depicted in earlier literature. Ivan Poljak and Eva Fordinálová, who contributed the segment on Slovak union and work-related activities in the United States, would agree with Victor Greene that Slovak workers were not simply meek laborers whose docility prevented them from becoming actively involved in labor unions and strife. Moreover, their religiosity did not prevent all Slovaks in the United States and elsewhere from flirting with Socialist or Communist ideas and joining Socialist or Communist parties.

Despite such points, *Slováci vo svete* is marred by serious weaknesses. As a synthesis, the book is far too general and institutionally oriented. Even the lengthier discussion of Slovak immigrants in the United States is primarily a chronicle narrative of various immigrant organizations and newspapers. The treatment of Slovak immigration to other countries serves little more than as a reminder that the United States was not the sole destination of this immigrant group. No attempt is made to offer a comparative analysis of Slovak adjustment to various countries. Rather, Bielik and the other contributors seem content to resort to perfunctory, isolated discussions of Slovaks and their organizations in the several countries. While they are to be commended for the attempt to describe the work life of Slovak laborers, the discussions of this topic suffer from overgeneralizations, oversimplifications, and factual and interpretive errors. The authors try desperately to show that Slovaks almost naturally harbor Socialist sympathies. They use the participation by Slovaks in labor unions or strikes as examples of these natural sympathies. Typically the authors do not provide sufficient or convincing evidence for their generalizations. For example, they make no attempt even to estimate the number of Slovaks actually involved in the various "Socialist" and labor activities they describe.

Unfortunately, *Slováci vo svete* is further harmed because the authors overlook some obviously important aspects of Slovak immigrant life in the United States and perhaps in other countries as well. Despite the claim that the book is offering a description of immigrant life, much of the material actually focuses on the activities of prominent Slovaks, not ordinary immigrants. Slovak churches and their role in American Slovak communities are ignored.

Overall, *Slováci vo svete* is too brief to treat adequately the complex aspects of Slovak immigration to the United States and to other countries. Still, this work does raise questions that merit closer analysis by students of Slovak

immigration and of labor and political history. The contributors also do provide a general, institutional history of Slovak immigration throughout the world. This volume does not rank as the definitive study of Slovak immigration, but it is a synthesis that scholars in Czechoslovakia and in those countries where Slovak immigrants have gone will find useful.

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Elena Jakešová. *Vyst'ahovalectvo Slovákov do Kanady*. Bratislava: Veda, vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1981. 160 pp.

In recent years there has been a great renewed interest in ethnic and immigration history on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. To the growing list of scholarly studies in this field can be added Elena Jakešová's present monograph. Jakešová presents a concise, statistical account of Slovak immigration to Canada from the 1870s to 1938. The book is divided into two sections, one covering the years from the 1870s to 1914, and the second from 1922 to 1938. She gives the reasons for Slovak immigration from Hungary, and later from Czechoslovakia, and also an excellent outline of the individual Slovak settlements in Canada. Other chapters or sections are devoted to the development of the Slovak press in Canada and to the rise of Slovak fraternal societies. Separate sections describe Slovak mining settlements in Western Canada, agricultural communities in Central Canada, and urban settlements in Eastern Canada in later years.

This is a well-organized and well-written book. The research and documentation are most impressive. The author made use of archival material from Slovak district archives in Slovakia, from the Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, and from the Magyar Országos Levéltár in Budapest. Most of the periodical literature and monographic studies dealing with Canadian Slovaks were also used. In short, few stones were left unturned. The volume is also enriched by graphs and charts which help clarify the history of Slovak immigration to Canada. Even the illustrations were well selected and add interest to the subject.

Two serious shortcomings of the book are Jakešová's treatment of Canadian Slovak societies and churches. Among societies the importance of the Slovak workers' movement was overemphasized. Her account of it was informative and interesting, but the movement itself was of decidedly minor significance. The Canadian Slovak League and Canadian-Slovak Support Society were and remain the largest Canadian-Slovak organizations. More should

have been said about these groups and the great work and sacrifices of such individuals as Andrej Kučera and Andrej Potocký, founders of the Canadian Slovak League. In general, more attention should have been devoted to the experiences of Canadian Slovaks — their joys and sufferings — and to the history of their churches, which were not covered at all.

Aside from these drawbacks, the work has many merits and can be recommended to anyone seeking a general survey of Slovak immigration to Canada.

ANTHONY X. SUTHERLAND
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Engelbert Zobl and Hertha A. Zobl. *Holzbaukunst in der Slowakei*. Vienna: Fachjournalverlagsgesellschaft, 1978. 92 pp.

This unpretentious little paperback volume bears witness to what seems to be a growing interest among enthusiasts in western Europe to "uncover" the art of traditional wooden architecture in the Carpathian region of Slovakia. Hence, since the appearance of the book under review, two more ambitious volumes have appeared: *Wooden Churches in the Carpathians: The Photographic Legacy of Florian Zapletal* (Vienna, 1982) by Paul R. Magoci and the monumental *Wooden Churches of Eastern Europe* (Cambridge, 1981) by David Buxton, both of which contain numerous photographs of structures in northeastern Slovakia.

In contrast to these two subsequent works, the book by Engelbert and Hertha Zobl seems more of an architectural travel reportage put together as a guide for Austrian and West German tourists who still flock each summer to Czechoslovakia in search of the ostensibly more exotic cultural stimuli of the "east." This is not to suggest that such popular books are without value or that the Zobls have not done a competent job. In fact, as is evident from the albeit self-indulgent autobiographical data (complete with photographs of the whole family), the husband and wife Zobl team have degrees, respectively, in architecture and the applied arts. And as the lavishly-illustrated book reveals, they both have a keen sensitivity for the aesthetic as well as technical aspects of their subject.

The book is basically divided into five chapters: belfries, wooden churches, wooden crosses, secular wooden architecture, and architectural ornamentation. The appendices include a list of all belfries and churches with their date of construction (in most, but not all instances); a map showing the travel route followed by the authors in 1976 with each place indicated that appears in the book; an index of placenames; and a brief bibliography. The latter indicates a few basic German, Czech, and Slovak works, but omits two recent

Ukrainian-language studies from Czechoslovakia that deal with the subject: an encyclopedia of wooden churches (past and present) in northeastern Slovakia by B. Kovačovýčova-Puškarova and I. Puškar, *Derev'jani cerkvy schidnogo obrjadu na Slovačcyni* (Bratislava and Prešov, 1971) and a survey of secular architecture in the same region by M. Sopolyha, *Narodna architektura ukrajinciv Schidnoji Slovačcyny* (Svidník, 1976).

Each chapter in the book by the Zobls is preceded by a very brief introduction, and each of the 110 photographs carries a caption. There are also 41 line drawings of structures and ground plans. By far, the largest portion of the book — a total of 72 illustrations — depicts structures from villages inhabited by Carpatho-Rusyns in the very northeastern part of Slovakia. This is not surprising, since that area had economically always been the most underdeveloped and, therefore, traditional life-style and architecture have been preserved there the longest. Also, the authors seemed to have become enchanted by the clusters of wooden churches north of Svidník and northeast of Snina, whose almost perfect form and balance make them stand out aesthetically, in particular when juxtaposed to wooden architecture throughout all of eastern Europe, as is evident from the comparative survey by David Buxton mentioned above.

The photographs are, in fact, the highlight of the Zobl's book. They were all taken in 1976, were well executed and often provide different views of a given structure, and have been reproduced clearly in the printing process. With the exception of a few iconostases inside Byzantine-rite churches, the photographs are almost all exterior shots. Particularly striking are 39 photographs in color, among the best of which are the wooden church in Miroľa, the cemetary crosses in Detva, and the decoration on houses in Ždiar.

All in all, *Wooden Architecture in Slovakia* is an excellent introduction to the beauties of traditional culture that still can be found in Slovakia today. As a serious guide for tourists, it would be particularly useful if an English edition could be prepared for the increasing numbers of Americans of Slovak and Carpatho-Rusyn descent who visit the ancestral homeland.

PAUL R. MAGOCSI
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Atlas ČSSR. Bratislava: Slovenská kartografia, 1980.

This school atlas is obviously intended for students at about the high school level. It has no accompanying text or explanatory material and is even devoid of an introduction. Consequently, the user is given no idea regarding the intended audience or the goals of this volume of maps.

There are 42 pages of maps; there are more actual maps, however, because numerous inset (larger scale) maps are displayed on various themes. The first quarter of the atlas is devoted to physical/environmental subjects — temperature, precipitation, geological structure, soils, forests, etc. The remainder of the volume contains social, cultural, and especially economic maps.

The physical maps are of standard type, although the last of this group is an interesting map of conservation sites, such as parks and botanical stations. The demographic maps (pages 12 to 15) are interesting because included are maps on density, fertility, mortality, national population growth rates, labor force, and the nationalities. Most of the maps suffer as a result of the inappropriate scale employed and poor use of color. The nationalities sheet is particularly poor because the combination of colors and patterns to locate and quantify minority groups is a total failure.

The economic maps (pages 16-27) again are standard and include maps of minerals, manufacturing, agriculture, crops, transport and more for the entire country. Detailed political/physical maps of the Czech and Slovak Republics are then followed by similar economic maps for the two areas.

The atlas is rounded out with a set of maps of "regional types" at the micro-scale. There are six of these, including types such as the High Tatra area and a section of industrial Ostrava. There are also 10 examples of "settlement types," including Nitra and a Czech resort town.

The final three maps are interesting cultural maps, including one of higher and middle schools, medical institutions, and historical/cultural monuments. Unfortunately, these maps are of very limited use because they are drawn at a scale (1:4,000,000) which obliterates any detail.

In general, the *Atlas ČSSR* is an adequate school level tool. It would have been much better and useful, however, if sharper color had been used and if more reasonable scales had been chosen for many of the maps. The bulkiness (23 cm. x 55 cm.) and the inferior quality of the binding also detract from the *Atlas'* value. In sum, a potentially lively collection of maps has been rendered into a disappointing volume of no particular distinction.

GEORGE J. DEMKO
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Peter Baláž, Miloslav Darovec, and Heather Trebatická. *Slovak for Slavicists*. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladatel'stvo, 1976. 302 pp.

Students who have some background in another Slavic language, as well as those who possess a rudimentary knowledge of Slovak, will find this text-

book useful. It was written for the intermediate classes at the Studia Academica Slovaca (Summer Seminar of Slovak Language and Culture in Bratislava), and was also intended for use as a textbook in university-level courses abroad. The authors point out in the preface that it is not a handbook for those studying Slovak without a teacher; however, it can be used in this way if the student's goal is to gain only a reading knowledge of Slovak, and particularly if Slovak is not his/her first Slavic language.

The book contains 27 lessons in addition to the Slovak-English/English-Slovak glossaries. The bilingual designation of the section headings in the table of contents and in the lessons themselves is a very desirable feature of the book. It serves the immediate pedagogical purpose of teaching these items in Slovak as well as enabling the student who wishes to augment the explanations in the textbook with those from Slovak sources to find easily the desired items in the Slovak books.

Lesson 1 is devoted to a brief discussion of the alphabet and pronunciation. The Slovak letters *ň*, *č*, *dž*, *š*, *ž*, *t'*, *d'*, *l'* are characterized as palatalized consonants (p. 17), which might well confuse those students who have studied Russian. They would be better described in English as palatals. Furthermore, since regressive voice assimilation before nasals and liquids characterizes Slovak sandhi rules in contrast to some of the other Slavic languages, it would be well to include that information in the section on pronunciation.

The remaining lessons have the following general format: introductory text, questions, vocabulary, grammatical section, exercises, grammatical section, exercises, translation exercise, and pronunciation exercise. The exercises are well constructed and provide immediate reinforcement of the concepts just introduced. The notes and notice markers which call attention to exceptions or to features which differ significantly in English are also very effective. Review exercises, spaced at appropriate intervals throughout the book which would combine the information presented in the various grammatical sections up to that point, would enhance the efficacy of the textbook (e.g., inclusion of a review exercise following Lesson 6 after most declensional paradigms have been introduced).

The introductory texts contain a vocabulary which is very useful for those students who will be in Bratislava. However, to those who have never been there, as well as to the newly arrived, certain words such as *miestenka* are mystifying and a note of explanation would be helpful. Lesson 8 has an informal letter to a friend as the introductory text. The forms of *ty* are correctly capitalized. However, there is no note of explanation on how *vy* (polite singular/plural) should be written. Since this is one of the areas in which the Slavic languages differ, it would be well to include a note on T/V capitalization in letters. It might be more useful to include a thank-you note or a formal letter for exam-

ple, to a professor requesting a consultation, because these are the kinds of letters that a more advanced student is likely to be writing. In general the texts are of a very practical nature and provide the student with an adequate vocabulary for functioning in Slovak society. They could be made more effective by deleting some, such as Lesson 4, or editing them, so that they would be more appropriate for and interesting to university students.

While it is possible to draw up a list of additions that one would wish to insert into the book, that in no way detracts from its value. It is certainly the best textbook available today for teaching Slovak to English-speaking students at the university level, and we can only hope that it will be expanded and enlarged in future editions.

LOUISE B. HAMMER
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Jozef Mistrík. *Basic Slovak*. Bratislava: Slovenské pedagogické nakladatel'stvo, 1981. 160 pp.

This textbook is designed for English-speaking students who want to learn the fundamental grammatical phenomena and 800 of the most frequently occurring vocabulary items in Slovak without wading through the complexities that most traditional grammars present. Its focus is on learning to speak Slovak (American speakers of English should be forewarned that the pronunciation equivalents between English and Slovak given in Lesson 1 are based on British English), not on gaining a passive reading knowledge of the language, and it is not designed to be used without a teacher. Therefore, rules are given but exceptions to the rules are introduced into the discussion only when they occur frequently. This approach is based on the theory that second language acquisition, like first language acquisition, requires a knowledge of the productive grammatical rules of a language, i.e., those patterns that a learner encounters over and over again in everyday usage.

Since this textbook is designed for the one-month Studia Academica Slovaca summer school course as an introductory textbook, it alone would not suffice for a traditional American two-year college program; however, even in a more extended course, the texts which begin each chapter, as well as the exercises at the ends of the lessons, could serve as useful supplementary material.

The book contains fifteen lessons, paradigm tables, Slovak-English and English-Slovak vocabularies, and a dictionary of linguistic terms. Beginning with the second, each lesson consists of four parts: text, vocabulary, grammar, and exercises. The texts are interesting from the sociolinguistic point of view because they frequently have as their themes social events which are common

in contemporary Slovak life, such as presenting flowers to someone arriving at the station, waiting in line to buy things, the extended family living together, friends sharing their experiences over a glass of wine. These texts serve to familiarize American students with Slovak culture and appropriate language usage in that culture.

Each text introduces the vocabulary items which are listed just after it. This section is followed by grammatical explanations which are simple and concise, and are easily understood by learners with a minimal background in traditional grammar. The exercises require the student to create new forms based on the rules and data presented in the preceding sections. In addition to filling in blanks, the students are required to form sentences. Since a bilingual text is given in all of the lessons after the fifth, the student is able to check his/her progress in sentence construction. Features of Slovak which are absent in English and are, therefore, troublesome for English-speaking students are re-introduced in the texts or exercises of subsequent lessons; for example, the prefixed forms of *ist'* are introduced in Lesson 10 and are exemplified in the exercises in Lesson 12. The last item in the exercises is a list of words to be read aloud for pronunciation purposes. These words do not appear in the glossary at the end of the book. The glossary does possess an attractive feature: It indicates after every word the number of the lesson in which the word was introduced.

As is usual in a first printing, some errors are to be found in the book (e.g., a few of the r's in the glossary have been deleted, and some of the s's have been transposed into the s section). There are also minor errors in the English text: "present" instead of "represent" (p. 11); "shorting" instead of "shortening" (p. 66); "The both forms are possible" (p. 74). None of these leads to misunderstanding; however, occasionally, as in "bývam dlho hore" (p. 31) (= "not to sleep"), the English meaning is not immediately clear.

On the whole, Professor Mistrík's book successfully fulfills the goals which he set in writing it, and any teacher or student of Slovak will find it a useful addition to his/her library.

LOUISE B. HAMMER
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Ábel Král'. *Slovenská výslovnosť*. Banská Bystrica: Učebné pomôcky, 1979.
8 stereo phonograph records with accompanying text, 173 pp.

These high-quality recordings were produced by Ábel Král', the head of the Phonetics Department at Comenius University, and national artist V. Záborský, for use in secondary schools and language institutes in Slovakia in

order to teach students the neutral pronunciation style of standard literary Slovak.

In the introduction Král' explains the theoretical assumptions on which the presentation is based and suggests various ways in which the records can be used effectively. The recordings contain sections on the vowels, diphthongs, consonants, and consonant clusters. In addition there are excellent exercises on geminated consonants, rhythmic shortening, and particularly on voicing assimilation in the various environments. The last record has a well-exemplified discussion of sentence intonation.

Each section begins with an introduction in which the terminology is defined, the particular sound or sounds under consideration are described, and incorrect pronunciation is sometimes identified. Then the correct pronunciation is given. It is repeated twice with pauses between the utterances so that the student is able to practice the pronunciation and compare it to the record. These sections would be valuable for beginning students, while the more advanced students would additionally gain from hearing the spoken Slovak of the explanations as well as from their content.

These recordings would be a very useful teaching aid for non-native speakers who teach Slovak or for Slovaks who speak a dialect and would like to acquire the standard pronunciation. Every student of Slovak who wishes to acquire a good speaking command of the language will benefit from the use of these recordings. They are in fact a very solid course in Slovak phonetics, and selections from the recordings would be ideal material for the pronunciation section of a typical language course.

LOUISE B. HAMMER
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Vojtech Mihálik. *Erotikon. Súbor lúbstnej lyriky*. Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1981.

Vojtech Mihálik is the grand old man of Czechoslovak letters, and specifically of Slovak poetry, if this title could apply to a man who is only 55 years old. He is undoubtedly the most outstanding poet of the generation which came to the fore after the Second World War. Born in 1926, Michálik for many years worked as the editor-in-chief of the main publishing house in Bratislava. A former long-time president of the Association of Slovak Writers, he is at present the director of the publishing house Slovenský spisovateľ. His first selection of poems appeared shortly after the war. He has published 13 more volumes of poetry as well as numerous essays and translations. In 1978 he received the title of National Artist, one of the highest literary honors in Czechoslovakia.

This, his latest volume, contains a selection of poems written at various periods of the author's life. As far as the erotic content of the book is concerned, it is much smaller than could be expected by Western standards. Mihálik is primarily a romantic poet, a poet of love and emotion. He puts less stress on the physical aspects of passion than would most of his Western colleagues. In this he remains firmly rooted in the native Slovak tradition, where the appeal is to the feeling and sentiment, and where the exploitation of sexual aspects is subdued by a sense of decorum. Thus Mihálik's main effort in his love is to capture the fleeting moments of love: the minute of mutual silence, a tree rising against the sun as the lovers embrace, the sorrows and the ecstasies of deep emotion.

Mihálik is very conscious of nature. Like most Slovak poets, he lives spiritually in the countryside, with its peasant cottages, lush gardens, orchards full of ripe fruit, meadows suffused by the rays of sun. His erotic imagery refers almost exclusively to nature. A lonely lover is compared to earth which gave away its beautiful perfume to strolling winds. Lovemaking is perceived by the author in terms of entering a rose garden, searching for a star in the silent sky, or walking unharmed in the midst of a swarm of bees.

The metaphors are so intricately ornate that they would be reminiscent of oriental poetry, were it not for the absence of explicitness so characteristic of Arabic and Persian verse. Each poem is a parable of nature sustained to the very end, where in the last lines it unravels into a love poem. If it were not for the last couple of lines, an inexperienced reader might take the poems at their face value of melancholy or ecstatic descriptions of landscape. Each poem is thus a highly complex and elegantly written puzzle, the meaning of which has to be deciphered on two levels, the natural and the erotic.

Mihálik's poems are usually short. His favorite form is the sonnet, whose stylish elegance suits perfectly his method of expression. Some of the poems are cast in the form of a dialogue, which is a mode deeply rooted in Slovak folk poetry.

Mihálik may be a romantic lover according to the Slovak tradition, but he is by no means a patient one. If his passion does not meet with a quick response, he rebels. He sees love as a confusing passion because there is so little understanding between man and woman. Woman is always an outsider in his poems. She may be courted, coveted, responsive, submissive, or cold, but she always remains incomprehensible. Mihálik's attitude toward women is quite traditional. They are the ones who suffer, who bear the burden of broken relationships, and who carry the whole burden of parental responsibility. Mihálik admires women, feels sorry for them, but he seems to accept their lot as a natural thing.

As he gets older, Mihálik finds it increasingly difficult to accept the new

world around him. It is a world where the traditional values become rejected, where children of living parents become orphans because of desertion, where wives are leaving incompatible husbands, where families become broken for no apparent reason. The poet sees the world around him as full of suffering and unhappiness which he can only record, without being able to alleviate them. He becomes a witness for a new generation that is growing up unloved and unlovable. His poems lose their spontaneous enchantment with life, as life becomes increasingly complex and difficult and as the poet finds he cannot turn to love to provide him with a sense of the meaning of existence. The only answer that seems to emerge from Mihálik's later poems is the implicit message to endure, to go on, and to do one's best. And in this message, as in so many aspects of his poetry, Mihálik shows himself again as the true son of his people, the patient, enduring, and long-suffering people of Slovakia.

YVONNE GRABOWSKI
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Vincent Šikula. *Liesky*. Bratislava: Smena, 1980.

The novelette *Liesky* is in many respects firmly embedded in the Slovak literary tradition. Like so many books produced in Slovakia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it describes the trials and tribulations of a country boy on his way toward education and recognition. The chief character is a student at the conservatory who hopes to become a forest horn player and who persists in his path in spite of loneliness and abject poverty.

The form of the novelette is also an old favorite, a first person narrative. The genre itself has been successfully transplanted from the Russian literature of the Golden Age and has flourished in Czechoslovakia since there was a favorable ground for its reception in Czech and Slovak folklore.

What saves the story from becoming a typical hardship case narration, so characteristic of Slovak literature, is Šikula's humorous approach. The humor is intensified by the author's use of the *skaz* technique. The predicaments of the hero may be pathetic, but they are at the same time highly amusing. When the hero describes his family, we learn that his parents had so many children that they hardly noticed if several of them were missing. The young man's landlady can carry a conversation only with her cat — she is stone deaf. The hero has to practice music by drumming on the table because he cannot afford an instrument. When he finally gets the opportunity to practice on a real piano, he ruefully notes that it does not sound to him as good as the table.

The narration thus proceeds at a lively pace, in a jolly animated style,

full of slang, colloquialisms, and peasant speech mannerisms. It makes for easy and pleasant reading. Yet Šikula is much more than a skillful narrator. His mastery of style is evident as the story gradually reveals the narrator's character, his artistic strivings, and his sexual awakening.

Šikula possesses a superb sense of nature. Man is never alone in his book. All his actions and feelings take place in a natural setting of which he is an integral part. Nature blends with the action, and the change of seasons accompanies changes of life. Thus the story starts with a beautiful description of winter and ends with an equally beautiful episode of picking fresh twigs from bushes.

The story is deliberately left unfinished since Šikula aims at portraying but one stage in the hero's life. We will never learn what is going to happen in the future to the human twig picked from the bush of country life, and we are not meant to know. Šikula presents us with a vignette of life in the making. We are expected to enjoy the beauty and the immediacy of the vignette portrayed by an exquisite painter and not to look beyond it. Šikula has both the talent of a painter and a poet. Although the story is written in prose, it reads like a poem, displaying the author's remarkable power over language. Its measured cadences and sense of rhythm give the reader a unique poetic experience.

It is the beauty of style which gives to *Liesky* its most definite imprint.

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BOOK NOTE

Charles Wojatsek. *From Trianon to the First Vienna Arbitral Award: The Hungarian Minority in the First Czechoslovak Republic, 1918-1938*. Montreal: Institute of Comparative Civilizations, 1981. 229 pp.

Time and time again Mr. Wojatsek attempted to publish his manuscript through academic and commercial presses, only to have it repeatedly rejected because of its poor quality. Finally, when nothing else could be done, he published the book himself, under the spurious auspices of the "Institute of Comparative Civilizations, Montreal."

This book is not worth serious consideration. It was written with the patriotic fervor of a true believer, and its reading makes for cruel and unusual punishment, deserved only by other nationalists of Wojatsek's type. This reviewer wishes to warn the unsuspecting public: Beware! You may jeopardize your time, your money, and your nerves!

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THE REVEREND THEODORIC ZUBEK, O.F.M., received his S.T.D. degree from the University of Fribourg in 1940. He has written *The Church of Silence in Slovakia* (1956) and is the leading expert in the West on church-state relations in his homeland.

Guidelines for Manuscripts

Manuscripts of articles for possible publication should be sent to the editor. Articles should normally not exceed twenty-five pages in length, and should be submitted in triplicate, typed double-spaced, with generous margins for copyediting. Footnotes should also be typed double-spaced, numbered, and placed at the end of the paper. Text and format should adhere to the style outlined in Kate Turabian's *A Manual for Writers*. Proper orthography and diacritical marks must be supplied for all foreign words. Manuscripts will not be returned unless specifically requested and postage is provided.

Books for review are to be sent to the editor. Individuals who wish to review books should send the editor a copy of their *curriculum vitae* and an indication of their areas of expertise and interest.

